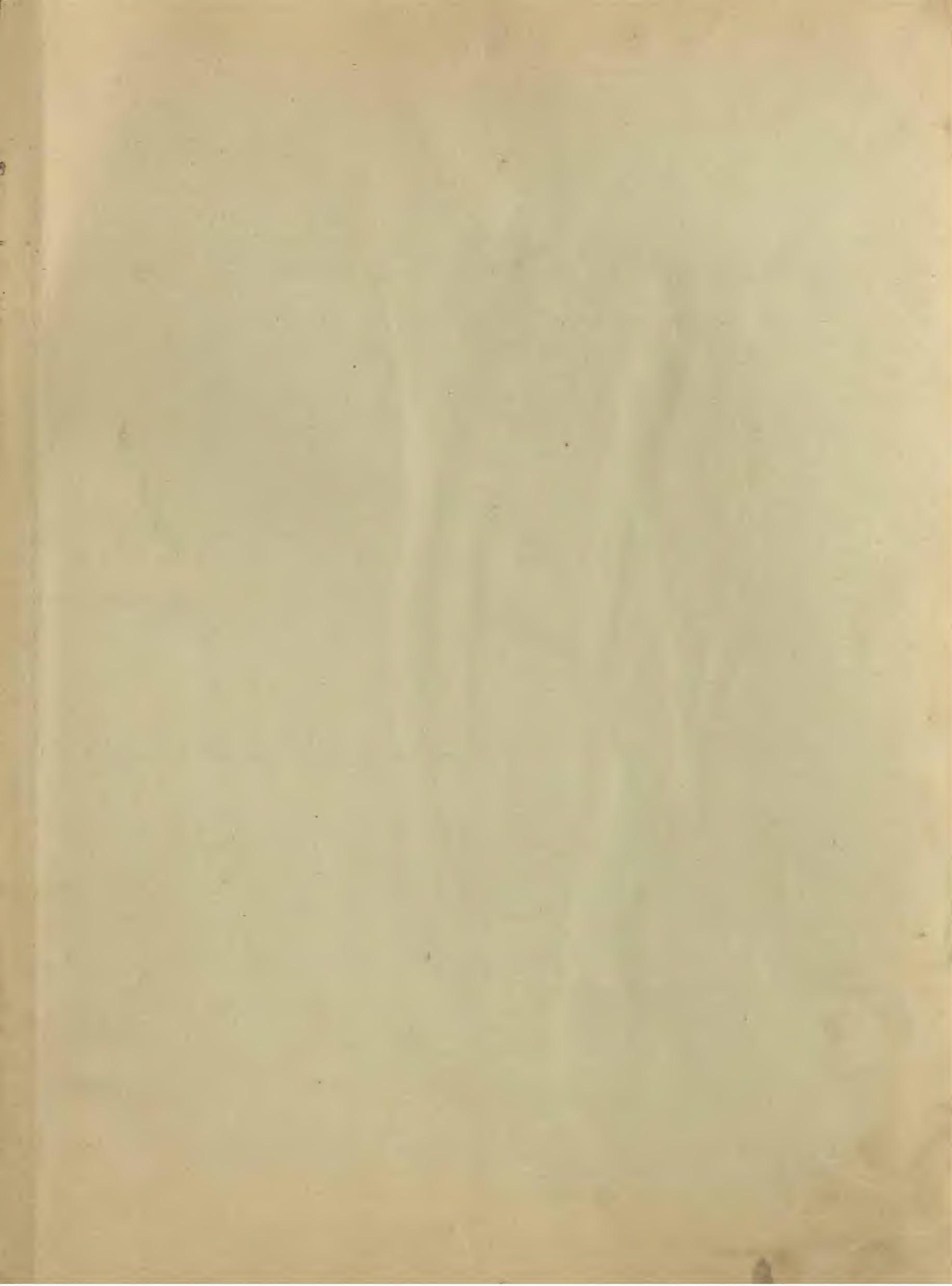


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XII

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

(NEW SERIES.)

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VOLUME I.

ORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH:

JAUNPUR, &c.

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51 and 60 are missing*

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

THE SHARQI ARCHITECTURE

OF

JAUNPUR;

WITH NOTES ON ZAFARABAD, SAHET-MAHET AND OTHER PLACES,
IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.,

OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

WITH DRAWINGS AND ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTIONS,

BY ED. W. SMITH,

ARCHITECTURAL ASSISTANT.

EDITED

BY JAS. BURGESS, LL.D., C.I.E.,

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

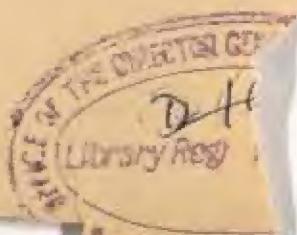
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PREFACE.

THIS volume is the first of the new series of Reports, begun after the re-organization of the Archæological Surveys in Upper India in 1885. In directing these surveys, my aim has been to have the Report volumes, as far as practicable, exhaustive and final on the subjects treated of in each. Much of course will be discovered everywhere in the future; but the monumental archæology can be fully dealt with, and a report—consisting chiefly of cursory notes on places visited on a flying tour, with rough drawings and photographs of the more notable buildings and sculptures met with, and speculations on matters on which the surveyor does not possess the materials for anything better than a mere hypothesis more curious than scientific—is not what ought to be considered satisfactory. Government has wisely forbidden the indulgence of the propensity to start such profitless speculations by the surveyors in their reports; and this volume will be found to be a plain statement of historical facts based on original sources of information relating to the places and buildings described, with careful and accurate representations of the monuments and their details sufficient to illustrate them—if not in every detail, yet quite as fully as is needed to give a complete idea of their architecture.

As Provincial Archæological Surveys had been conducted, at considerable expense, both in the Panjâb and North-Western Provinces, by officers of the Public Works Department, for several years previous to 1885, and as it had been devoted chiefly to the great monuments in Âgrâ, Jaunpûr, Dehlî, Lahôr, &c., I had hoped to be able to utilize and publish much of the material thus collected, and so make it accessible to the general public. On obtaining from Government a loan of these drawings, however, it was disappointing to find that, though numerous, technically well finished, and to large scales, the details—on which so much of the real character and style of architectural art is dependent—had not been measured and drawn with necessary care. Many of the smaller measurements were largely in error, and the proportions of ornamental work, mouldings, &c., overlooked. To have published such drawings would have been to produce untruthful impressions on the minds of such as should study them. Instead of the work at Jaunpur, therefore, being only to supply such additional details as had been overlooked in this extensive series of drawings, and write the desirable letter-press to accompany them, it was soon found that the whole must be re-measured and re-drawn, if the representations were to be accurate in all

details. Mr. Ed. W. Smith, the Architectural Assistant, only joined the staff in February 1886, and without any qualified draftsman to assist him. In the short period available till the hot season set in, he completed the work on the Atala and Lâl Darwâza Masjids. Next cold weather he was engaged in Bundelkhand and elsewhere, and only returned to Jaunpûr in October 1887, when, with the native draftsmen he had been training, he made the drawings now published of the Jâmi Masjid. This Report had been prepared in October 1886 and went to the press in 1887, but the earlier plates had not been nearly all printed off when the later ones were received to complete the work.

The bulk of the letter-press is by Dr. Führer, whose trained and varied scholarship is a sufficient guarantee for its accuracy and research. The architectural descriptions of the buildings were prepared by Mr. Smith. My work has been to unite these into one connected account, to supervise the printing, and pass the drawings through the press. To the MS. of his report Dr. Führer added a bulky appendix of forty-six inscriptions collected during his tour between 14th February and 31st March 1886. These were in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, many of which were unknown before. 'Some of these inscriptions,' Dr. Führer mentions, 'are of great historical importance, especially in settling the question of the time of the first appropriation of the ancient Buddhist and Hindû temples by the Musalmâns.' The Arabic and Persian inscriptions, being mostly short, and belonging directly to the buildings described, have been engrossed in the text: the longer Sanskrit ones, as directed by Government, have been kept for separate publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Besides the monograph on the Sharqî architecture of Jaunpûr, the report contains notes on the archæological remains at Zafarâbâd, Bhûfîla-Tâl, Ayodhyâ, and Sahet-Mahet, which places Dr. Führer visited in the course of his tour.

The plates have been reproduced by photo-lithographic processes at the Survey of India Office in Calcutta, but on account of other and more pressing demands,—to which these plates had often to give way,—the work has been much protracted. Nothing, however, could exceed the ready attention and interest bestowed from first to last upon it by Colonel Waterhouse, to whose care much of their excellence is due, and for which my best thanks are owing. They alone form a most important contribution to Indian monumental archæology, and will, apart from all description or comment, be found of much interest by the architect, the artist, and the historian of Indian architecture.

JAS. BURGESS.

CALCUTTA,
The 5th February 1889.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—JAUNPUR HISTORY	1
II.—The GREAT BRIDGE	17
Later History	21
III.—The BUILDINGS of JAUNPUR	23
IV.—The ATALA MASJID	29
Inscriptions on the Atala Masjid	38
V.—KHĀLIS MUKHLIS and JHANJHRI MASJIDS	41
VI.—The LĀL DARWĀZA MASJID	43
Inscriptions	49
VII.—JĀMI MASJID	52
Inscriptions	57
VIII.—MINOR MASJIDS and TOMBS	59
IX.—ZAFARĀBĀD	64
X.—AYODHYĀ, BHUILA-TĀL, and SAHET-MAHET	67
Bhuila-Tāl	68
Sahet-Mahet and Inscription of Samvat 1276	69
INDEX	75
Illustrative Plates and Drawings	At the end.

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LIST OF PLATES.

I.—	The great bridge at Jaunpūr.	(Photo-Electrotype).	To face title.
II.—	East gate of the Jaunpūr fort.	"	p. 24
III.—	The Atala Masjid : The Façade.	"	,, 30
IV.—	" " Ground plan.	(Drawing).	At the end.
V.—	" " Upper plan.	"	"
VI.—	" " 1. Section through the east entrance and small propylon on the south of the great dome; 2. Exterior, north elevation	"	"
VII.—	" " Half elevation of central propylon and half section of great dome	"	"
VIII.—	" " Exterior—west or back elevation	"	"
IX.—	" " Two bays under the great dome	"	"
X.—	" " Side elevation of central entrance	"	"
XI.—	" " Carved roof of ditto.	"	"
XII.—	" " Detail of the principal <i>Mihrāb</i> and <i>Minbar</i> .	"	"
XIII.—	" " Carved tympanum in recesses on each side of the central <i>Mihrāb</i> .	"	"
XIV.—	" " Half elevation of north gateway.	"	"
XV.—	" " of east "	"	"
XVI.—	" " Detail of the south propylon.	"	"
XVII.—	" " Panel in the small propylons on each side of the façade.	"	"
XVIII.—	" " The <i>Mihrāb</i> under the south dome.	"	"
XIX.—	" " 1. Section through the north gateway; 2. Example of screen work.	"	"
XX.—	" " 1. Section of the cloisters; 2, 3. Elevations; 4, 5. Pillars in the cloisters.	"	"
XXI.—	" " Details of pillars.	"	"
XXII.—	" " 1. Detail of screen work; 2, 3. Capitals of pillars.	"	"
XXIII.—	" " Three examples of Hindū pillars.	"	"
XXIV.—	" " 1. External cornice round the base of the great dome; 2. Bands round the springing of the small domes; 3. Band round the upper central section on the west end.	"	"
XXV.—	Jhanjhri Masjid.	(Photo-Electrotype).	
XXVI.—	Lal Darwaza Masjid: Central portion.	/ "	
XXVII.—	" " Interior of central hall.	"	
XXVIII.—	" " Ground plan.	(Drawing).	
XXIX.—	" " 1. Elevation of façade; 2. Exterior, south elevation	"	
XXX.—	" " West or back elevation	"	
XXXI.—	" " 1. Section of <i>Zanāna</i> gallery; 2. Plan of the back wall of the same; 3. Detail of ornament; 4. Pilaster of <i>Mihrāb</i> .	"	
XXXII.—	" " North entrance gateway.		
XXXIII.—	" " East or principal gateway.		
XXXIV.—	" " 1. Principal <i>Mihrāb</i> ; 2. Section; 3. Plan; 4. A bay of cloister wall; 5. Section of cloister.		
XXXV.—	" " <i>Mihrābs</i> in the back wall.		
XXXVI.—	" " Panels over the niches in the back wall.		
XXXVII.—	" " 1. Plan; 2. Elevation; 3. Section of windows lighting the dome and 4. Finials on the exterior of the dome.		

LIST OF PLATES.

XXXVIII.—	Lâl Darwâzâ Masjid : Panel over the principal <i>Mîhrâb</i> .	
XXXIX.—	" " Detail of pillars in the cloisters.	
XL.—	" " 1. Detail of string-course, &c., round the exterior of the dome ; 2. Capital of columns in the masjid ; 3. Bands and base of columns.	
XLI.—	Masons' Marks from Atala and Lâl Darwâza Masjids.	
XLII.—	" " from the Jâmi Masjid.	
XLIII.—	Jâmi Masjid Façade	(Photo-Electrotype).
XLIV.—	" " North exterior, showing the arcade	"
XLV.—	" " From the south-west	"
XLVI.—	" " Ground-plan of the outer verandahs at street-level	(Drawing).
XLVII.—	" " Ground-plan of the masjid and court	"
XLVIII.—	" " Plan of the upper storey	"
XLIX.—	" " Façade with section through the corridors	"
L.—	" " North exterior elevation	"
LI.—	" " 1. Section through the masjid ; 2. Section through the court and mosque looking south.	
LII.—	" " West exterior elevation.	
LIII.—	" " Half elevation of principal doorway.	
LIV.—	" " Jamb of ditto.	
LV.—	" " Soffit of ditto.	
LVI.—	" " Panel on lowest storey of the south pier of the propylon, looking south.	
LVII.—	" " Panels on second, third and fourth storeys of the north face of the south pier of the propylon.	
LVIII.—	" " Panel in topmost storey of the south pier of the propylon, and plan.	
LIX.—	" " Principal <i>Mîhrâb</i> , <i>Mîmbar</i> , and second <i>Mîhrâb</i> .	
LX.—	" " Detail of one bay of the great dome.	
LXI.—	" " West wall of the arched hall.	
LXII.—	" " Detail of pillars.	
LXIII.—	" " <i>Mîhrâb</i> in south <i>Zâdâs</i> gallery.	
LXIV.—	" " <i>Mîhrâb</i> in north ditto.	
LXV.—	" " Two panels from the roof of the south <i>Zâdâs</i> gallery.	
LXVI.—	" " Two ditto ditto.	
LXVII.—	" " Two ditto in north gallery.	
LXVIII.—	" " 1, 2. Panels in north and south wings ; 3. Cap of turrets ; 4. Upper string-course.	
LXIX.—	" " 1. Lower string-course on west of façade ; 2. Plinth.	
LXX.—	" " Lower frieze round the great dome.	
LXXI.—	" " Upper ditto ditto.	
LXXII.—	" " South entrance gateway.	
LXXIII.—	" " Section of north entrance gateway.	
LXXIV.—	Sahet Mahef, Inscription of Samvat 1276.	

REPORT
OF
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

JAUNPŪR.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.¹

REGARDING the pre-historic ages, the consideration of legends and of the present distribution of clans will give matter for a theory as to the importance and direction of each wave of conquest which in succession swept the aborigines from the land. In the earliest times, the region round Jaunpūr was held by the Bhārs, an aboriginal race of whose civilisation we catch glimpses by no means according with our ideas as derived from the present condition of their outcast descendants. Along the banks of the Barṇā are the sites of large cities, destroyed by fire, perhaps when Brāhmaṇism won its final victories over Buddhism; on the Gūmī stood vast temples which perished on the first inroad of the Muzaimīn; but what founders and what antiquity these cities and temples boasted none can now say.

Yet a local legend gives a hint of one stage of the great conflict, when the aborigines were sinking but not yet wholly subdued. When the great Rāma-chandra ruled in Ayodhyā, there dwelt in the curve of the Gūmī, where now Jaunpūr stands, the giant-demon Karālavīra (Karār Bir).² And whereas the highways were unsafe by reason of his violence, Rāma-chandra marched against him in person, and having vanquished him in single combat, left the giant's trunk lying as a memorial and warning, but flung his limbs and head to the corners of heaven. Over the trunk the demon's followers built a temple, paying divine honours to their lost lord. So far the legend; translating it, we suspect the truth to be that in some battle here the Bhār hero fell before the might of the invader, and the honour his sorrowing clansmen paid to his remains in time so

¹ Sources: Faqir Khair-ad-din Muhammad 'Allābābādī's *Jaunpūrnāmā*, ed. Jaunpūr; *Tārikh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta; *Tārikh-i-Mubdrak-Shāhi* of Yahyā-bin-'Ahmad-bin-'Abdullah Shīrīndī; *Tārikh-i-Firuz-Shāhi* of Zīd-ad-din Barnī.

² Firdūz Shāh found here a temple dedicated to Karālavīra (Karār Bir) within the lands of mauzā Karār. The Hindus named the new fort Karālakoṭa (Karārkot), and the ground adjoining to the north is still known as mahallā Karār. An equally probable interpretation of the myth is that Karār is the name, not of a single hero, but of a class of Bhārs. Karārkot, the eastern pargana of Jaunpūr, may be supposed to derive its name from the same class. Under the southern wall of the fort still exists the shrine of Karālavīra, partly covered by the stones of the fallen wall, but still the scene of worship. The object worshipped is a large stone, bearing a rude resemblance to the upper part of a human trunk, smeared thickly with turmeric, &c., so that it is impossible to say what kind of stone it is.

impressed his enemies that they in time, assigning a different origin to it, joined in the same worship.

Then for ages we have not even the light of a myth. Mr. Ommaney¹ found in Bandelkhand an inscription,² which spoke of a Yavanapura on the Gūmtī, and this he identified with Jaunpūr. In this, however, he was certainly wrong, for there can have been no town of any size here when Sālār Masa'ud Ghāzi destroyed the temples of that ancient town, to which, three centuries later, was given the new name of Zafarābād; but as the ancient name (Ratagarh) of the fort only of this city has been preserved, the inscription may refer to it. The Yavanendrapura of the *Hariemśa* may be taken as referring to the ancient town that existed on the site of the present Zafarābād, though General Cunningham's reading of "Yamonyāpura," in an inscription on a pillar in the west cloister of the Lāl Darwāza masjid at Jaunpūr,³ must be rejected. Buddhism seems to have been strong here, for the temples remaining even to the Musalmān period were undoubtedly Buddhist, and of sufficient magnificence not only to furnish materials for the conqueror's masjids, but to supply models even for the details of their decoration. For miles in the southern corner of the district, between the Basohi and Barṇā brooks, are found the sites of cities destroyed by fire, of whose former grandeur the peasant will tell, though now but scant traces are left of them but those Buddhists in character. But as the dawn of our present history draws on, we find the country subject to the Pāla princes of Banāras as in mythic times it seems to have been to those of Ayodhyā, and with Banāras it finally fell under the sceptre of the Musalmān, when Muhammad Shahāb-ad-dīn Ghori defeated Jayachandra II. in A.D. 1194. Not that Shahāb-ad-dīn was probably the first general of Islām who had triumphed so far to the eastward. Of the terrible Mahmūd of Ghaznī, indeed, no march is recorded farther east than Kalanjara, and we may be sure that had he taken Banāras history would not have been silent, and Shahāb-ad-dīn's four thousand camel-loads of spōil would have been the vaunt of an earlier triumph. But the fame of such a city cannot but have reached the great iconoclast's ears, and nothing is more probable than that he would send forth such a force as he could spare to lay waste the lands of idolaters. Hence we yield credence to the tale of the writers of the *Mirāt-al-Hsrār* and *Tacvīrīkh Munīmī*, that Sālār Masa'ud Ghāzi, sister's son to Mahmūd, starting from Kanauj, overran much of the country north of the Ganges, carrying his ravages to the gates of Banāras and destroying the temples of Zafarābād before meeting his death, in the prime of youth, in battle with the Hindūs at Bahrāich. But we are travelling beyond the record. Sālār Masa'ud Ghāzi is a personage little more historical than Rāmachandra himself, and the temples of Zafarābād may have been among the thousand Shahāb-ad-dīn boasted he had overthrown. But whatever the date of their destruction, it is probably the same as that of the first foundation of Jaunpūr.

The prince, who dwelt in Ratagarh, sickened with the desolation round his walls, built for himself a palace and temples a few miles to the west, on a spot somewhat more secluded on the north bank of the Gūmtī and near the old temple of Karālavira. In the two centuries and a half which elapsed between the conquest by Shahāb-ad-dīn and the

¹ *Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces*, Vol. XIV, Part III, page 83.

² This inscription has never been published, and the original cannot now be found.

³ Published by Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XI, page 126. I read this as "Ayodhyāpura" at which the grandfather of Padmasādhu had lived.—J. B.

accession of Firuz Shah, many fine buildings had risen in the new city, untroubled by wars or by the Musalmān occupants of the mother-city, which by degrees passed wholly into the hands of the invaders. In the reign of 'Alā-ad-din Muhammad Shah, in 1300 A.D., one Shaikh Bārha converted the only temple¹ former ravagers had spared into a masjid, still standing; and, but a few years later, died, and here was buried the local "light of Hindūstān," Sadr-ad-din Chiragh-i-Hind, whose tomb, still standing, was built by Zafar Khān, the new founder of Zafarābād, and apparently the first governor of Jaunpūr. As there was frequent intercourse between the court of Dehlī and the semi-independent princes of Lakhnautī, and as the main road, crossing the Ganges at some ford not far west of the present city of Farrukhābād, ran through Zafarābād and Banāras, many armed and many peaceful parties of Musalmāns had visited the place between the plundering foray of Shahāb-ad-din and that long halt of Firuz when the present city of Jaunpūr was founded. Indeed, this was perhaps not the first visit even of Firuz, for when, in 1355, he marched against Hāji Iliās of Lakhnautī, who had entered his kingdom westward even to the gates of Banāras, he probably passed at least on his homeward march through Zafarābād.

But in A.D. 1359² Firuz was moving against the successor of his old rival, and was overtaken by the rains at Zafarābād, and halted there till autumn. He despatched an embassy to the prince, against whom he was marching, but, though the envoy sent brought rich presents in return, among which are mentioned five elephants,—an offering which the custom of those and later times seems to have considered a confession of inferiority,—the weather only delayed the king's march. In the camp was Prince Faṭḥ Khān, then a child of seven, that eldest and most beloved son whose death fifteen years later, A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374), plunged Firuz into uncontrollable grief and the empire into severe troubles. At this time the father was thinking much of his son's training, and though, in the next season's march, his fondness conferred on the child the ensigis of royalty, his care at the same time appointed proper tutors for his education.

The idea of founding a city in the neighbourhood, which might form a proper basis for future campaigns, was probably conceived at that time; for, though his march was

¹ Ferguson seems convinced that nowhere have the Musalmāns appropriated a Buddhist building without reconstruction, and he is probably right; but, when treating of the Atala masjid, he only gives as his reason for his thinking it reconstructed, that certain conspicuous parts are undoubtedly Saracenic. But at Zafarābād there are no such parts. The roof is flat, and the interior is a hall, 18 feet high, 9 bays deep, from east to west, and 7 broad, from north to south. The outer ranges of columns are double, and plain walls close the spaces between the outmost. The square pillars are somewhat irregularly placed towards the western sides; the aisle, running from the door to the gībla, is 8 feet 6 inches broad, the others 6 feet 6 inches, the greater breadth of this centre aisle is certainly suggestive of Musalmān interference in its construction; and the arch which once finished the front is most probably a part of the original design. The real date of Shaikh Bārha's interference cannot be fixed with accuracy; the stone on which the dedication was carved fell from the front and is lost, but the inscription is said to have given a verse from which certain words were picked to give the date A.H. 711 = A.D. 1311, but 'Alā-ad-din Mahmud Khilji is said to have been named as the then ruler, and his accession dates half a century later. Sharaf Jahāngir, a foreign saint who died here in the autumn of 1397, had lodged in this masjid. The Zafar Khān mentioned was probably Zafar Khān Fārsi, who, coming from Sūndhāgāon in Bengal ten years before that inroad in which Jaunpūr was founded, was made Nāib Vazir, and twenty years later Vazir; he betrayed his master and disappears suddenly. But Firishta names several others and gets confused among them.

² Though there can be no real doubt as to the chronology, it is not wholly undisputed. Khair-ad-din first speaks vaguely, but as assuming the place to have been founded by Firuz about A.H. 769 = A.D. 1358; in another place he gives the date plainly as A.H. 772 = 1370, but says it is recorded by *abjad* in the words *Shahr Jaunpur*, which gave the year 770. Firishta speaks of the halt at Zafarābād on the eastward march in 760, and at "Zafarābād and Jaunpūr" on the return in 761; the *Jahāndar* says that Firuz founded the city on the eastward march, Khair-ad-din and the *Tārikh-i-Muhammadi* (the latter giving the date A.H. 776 = 1373) on his return. Jayachandra II. seems to have been dispossessed of Rātagāṛh in 1359: so the claims of the two years 1359 and 1360 are pretty equally balanced. The plan may have been adopted in the former, and carried out in the latter.

almost unopposed, and Sikandar Shâh lost no time in making terms, Firûz, marching back to Zafarâbâd, deliberately halted for another season. Leaving the wide-spread ruins of the old city, he found, at a little distance to the west, but on the other bank of the Gûmti, a thriving town, built by those who had left their old homes and brought their gods to a more sheltered spot. This city he determined to enlarge and name after himself, and though some dream, it is said, made his predecessor, Malik Jûna, who had reigned as Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, the eponymous hero of Jaunpûr, Firûz did not change his other plans of giving to the new city all that could make it pleasant and famous.

One morning, in April 1360, Firûz rode over from Zafarâbâd, attended by Jayachandra, a Râjpût prince of the Gaharwâr clan who seems to have been at that time dispossessed of Ratagarh, and compelled to take up his residence in his father's palace in Jaunpûr. At the end of his journey he found a thriving town extending for some miles along the northern bank of the Gûmti, and boasting four large temples, two at least conspicuous both for size and costliness, a palace, and a tank of cut stone, the main body of which was a quarter of a mile square. The two chief temples first attracted the king's notice, but, though the people looked on and worked patiently while he threw down the temple of Karûlavira, cast up a mound on its site, and built on it and round it a fort with stones brought from the ruined temples of Zafarâbâd, an attempt to desecrate the temple of Ataladevi met with so fierce a resistance that, after much bloodshed, Firûz was compelled to make a compromise and give a written undertaking that the temples should be left untouched and Hindû worship tolerated, stipulating only that the temple of Ataladevi be left unrestored and perhaps unused. The return of the cold season brought other labours to Firûz, and appointing Zafar Khân to the charge of the frontier provinces, he left the city Jaunpûr for the first and last time. Still, we are told, he bore his new city in fond remembrance, and took care to settle in it men both of learning and wealth. But few particulars can be recorded; Zafar Khân is remembered solely as having, in this very year, built the tomb of the local saint, a plain Pathân dargâh with short pillars supporting a square dome; and if we add that when, in 1376, governors were appointed to divers provinces, "Jaunpûr and Zafarâbâd" fell to Malik Bahrûz, we have told all that concerns Jaunpûr before died Firûz, her founder, on the 23rd October 1383,—a prince who, with Sher Shâh, her most famous *alumnus*, contests with Akbar, the founder of the city whose growth was her destruction, the glory of being the greatest prince on the roll of Indian kings.

The short and troubled reigns which fill the space between the death of Firûz and the accession of Mahmûd Tughlak on the 5th April 1394, contain nothing to interest the historian of Jaunpûr, except the tale of the gradual rise of Khwâja Jahân, the first independent prince of Jaunpûr. This noble, by name Malik Sarwar, was a eunuch, given by Sâlâr Kajab to his grandson Muhammad. In the household of this prince he rose to be Khwâja Sarâ (chief eunuch) and controller of the elephant stables, and following his master's fortunes through all troubles, on his temporary success in A.D. 1389 was rewarded with the title of Khwâja Jahân and the office of Vazir. In the following year, the ability of a rival having given Muhammad a stronger hold on the throne, the prince rewarded his new supporter with Khwâja Jahân's office; but on the fall of the new Vazir in the course of the next year, Khwâja Jahân, on whose head his rival's

blood is thought to rest, regained his office, and retained it till he was sent by Mahmûd Tughlak, in March 1394, with the title of "Malik-as-Sharq," to govern the frontier provinces of the East. Years before, his notice had been attracted by the childish beauty of Malik Vazil, the son of Qaranfal,¹ a slave and water-bearer of Firûz; and having adopted him, he took him, now in the prime of life, with all his brothers, to his new government.

The charge of the Malik-as-Sharq was far more important, as his title was higher than that of the former governors. Malik Bahrûz had "Jaunpûr and Zafarâbâd," with such provinces to the eastward as were held neither by petty chiefs nor the lords of Lakhnautî; to this were added the lower Doâb and the provinces on the left bank of the Ganges, which previously had been assigned to other hands. There was no question as to the success of his administration. Forts which had fallen into the hands of the Hindûs, provinces which had revolted, again owned the supremacy of Dehli, and Khwâja Jahân, amid his peaceful labours in Vijayachandra's palace in Jaunpûr, was perpetually cheered by news of the triumphs of his adopted son—triumphs the fruits of which he fully enjoyed when—Timûr having driven the Tughlaks from Dehli—he felt able to proclaim his independence and rule with undisputed sovereignty over the rich provinces which lie between the Himalayan Tâstî and the Jamnâ, from Kol and Rahiri to Tîrhût and Bihâr. It cannot, of course, be said that his authority was so powerful in the half-conquered Gorakhpûr or the remote Tîrhût as at his palace gates in Jaunpûr. The power of a native prince varies inversely as the distance from which it is exercised, and the Hindû Râis, who from the huge fort of Etâwa looked down on the ravines of the Jamnâ, may well have been like the Percys of the Scottish marches. Yet when the kings of Lakhnautî who faced Firûz and had exchanged embassies and made treaties with the kings of Dehli, paid the tribute due to Dehli to the new prince at Jaunpûr, we may be sure that his titles "Sultân-as-Sharq Asâbûk Azim" were no empty vaunts, and that his successor found the sceptre he had helped to raise no mere reed. Khwâja-i-Jahân had made his adopted son his deputy with the title Malik-as-Sharq, and he again had given the command of the fort and the city to his brother Ibrâhim. Whether or not the heir was present in Jaunpûr in the former half of 1400, when Khwâja Jahân died, or was absent on another such expedition as that which, in the spring of 1396, had made the princes of Bengal pay tribute, his interests were well looked after, and his succession was undisputed. But the stupor of exhaustion which had followed Timûr's departure from Dehli was by this time passing away, and Mallû Iqbâl Khân, who was ruling Dehli under cover of Mahmûd Toghlaq's name, felt strong enough to resent the boldness of the new prince in assuming the regal canopy, coining money, and being publicly prayed for as Mubârak Shâh Sharqi. But first, in the winter of 1400-01, Mallû Iqbâl subdued Shams Khân of Biâna and levied contributions in Katehar, and afterwards, apparently late in the hot season (1401), marched from Dehli, supported by the forces of Shams Khân and Mubârak Mewâtti, against Mubârak. At Patiâll the allies were vainly opposed by the Râi of Mâinpûri, but Mubârak seems not to have

¹ Firishta and Abûl Faiz agree that Qaranfal was the name of the child, not of his father. There is perhaps no good reason for following the *Târikh-i-Muhammad*, as we have done in the text; but the author of the last-named work gives details instead of letting the adopted son appear only when the throne was vacant. It is worth while to mention here that, in the very few lines Abûl Faiz gives to the reign of Ibrâhim, he mentions the defeat and punishment of the rebellion of Qaranfal, possibly the father of Ibrâhim and so nearer of kin to the former prince.

crossed the Ganges and to have borne the loss of Kanauj without resistance. The swollen river was probably the cause of his patience, and the same obstacle kept the two armies facing one another on opposite banks for two months, neither daring or being able to force a passage, till want of supplies compelled both to retreat. But Mahmûd Tughlak at this time returning from Gujarât, Mallû Iqbâl resolved to try whether the presence of the emperor would do more than his name, and Mubârak, taking up his old position on the left bank of the Ganges, died here in the autumn of the same year while waiting for his enemy to appear.

The vacant throne was at once filled by Mubârak's younger brother Ibrâhim, with the title of Shams-ad-dîn Ibrâhim Shâh Sharqi, a prince of varied talents, whose long reign is the most glorious in the short annals of Jaunpûr. As soon as the great news of his brother's death reached him, he hurried to the army on the Ganges where an event soon occurred which tried all his skill in kingcraft. Mahmûd Tughlak had showed no ability in the years before Timûr's invasion, when he was, at least in name, supreme, and his hurried flight to the court and contemptuous hospitality of the governor of Gujarât had not raised his reputation. When weary of his retirement, he returned to Dehli, at the invitation, or by the permission, of Iqbâl Khân, to be the puppet and prisoner of a man ruling in his name; and when now brought face to face with the army of Jaunpûr, to try whether the magic of his name and ancestry would shake its allegiance and make easy his tyrant's victory, he conceived the vain hope that, were he once within the lines of the enemy, the new prince might abdicate in his favour or at all events free him from his bondage to Iqbâl. But, though Ibrâhim was young both in years and in power, he was far too able to be a pawn in any man's game; and when Mahmûd took advantage of a hunting party to escape from Iqbâl's hands, he was received with great reserve by the Sharqi prince, being even, according to some writers, denied fire and water. Covered with disgrace, he returned to the Dehli army, but was suffered to take possession of Kanauj and administer it himself; the more readily, no doubt, that it was debatable ground,—for even when wresting it from Mubârak, Iqbâl had been compelled to leave the government to the person appointed by Mubârak's predecessor. Leaving Mahmûd in quiet possession, the two armies moyed to their respective headquarters, and so ended the first war between Dehli and Jaunpûr.

Iqbâl Khân fell on the 18th November 1405 in an attack made in conjunction with Bahrâm Khân, another governor and guardian slave of Firûz, on Khizr Khân, Timûr's deputy in the Panjab; and the officer's left in command at Dehli invited Mahmûd to return. He went with a small retinue to take possession, but speedily returned to Kanauj. In the autumn of the following year, Ibrâhim marched to recover the place, and the armies took up their accustomed stations on the opposite banks, but after long halting and slight skirmishing, Ibrâhim marched back to Jaunpûr. The slothful Mahmûd too presently retired to Dehli, much to the disgust of his army, which either deserted him or was disbanded. As soon as this news reached his rival, he again put his army in motion, took Kanauj after a siege of four months, and having halted there for the rainy season of 1407, and then being joined by many of Mahmûd's nobles, made inroads on the territories of Dehli. Of Baran he made Malik Marhabâ Khân governor, and Tâtâr Khân of Sambhal, but when he had already reached the banks of the Jamna and was about to attack Dehli itself, he heard that Muzaffar Shâh (Zafar

Khân) of Gujarat, having subdued Hushang Shâh of Mâlwâ, was marching to attack Jaunpur. To secure his capital, therefore, he retreated, and straightway (April 1408) Mahmûd captured Baran by assault, killing Ibrâhim's governor, drove Tâtâr Khân of Sambhal to Kanauj and appointed Asad Khân governor of Sambhal on his own part. Kanauj remained the frontier town of Jaunpur till the death of Mahmûd in February 1412 ended the line of Firûz.

After the death of Mahmûd, Ibrâhim formed the idea of making himself master of Dehli, and made a few marches thitherwards, but speedily returning enjoyed near fifteen years of unbroken peace. His court was a haven of rest for the many learned men driven from the favoured places by the endless contests of the times, and their fame and the noble buildings which still adorn his capital are the enduring glories of his reign. The masjid, pavilions and baths of the Fort are memorials of his boyish employment as his brother's deputy, but the great Atala masjid was finished and dedicated in December 1408, and about the same time probably those which his nobles built on the sides of the two other great temples named and spared by Firûz. To this long rest too may probably be assigned the plan of building a bridge opposite his palace, an idea which none of his successors worked out, and of a second large masjid the building of which was the glory of Husain's reign, as its dedication was the consolation of his fall. As famous in this time, though nearly forgotten now, were the doctors of his court, to whom doubtless was chiefly due that fame for learning which Jaunpur has hardly yet lost, though, through the decay of native learning and the waning prosperity of the town, the so partly endowed schools which existed even in Muhammad Shah's reign have left few traces. Foremost among them and founder of the most famous school was Qâzî Shahâb-ad-din Malik-a-nâlâmâ, "one of the most renowned names," says Abûl Fazl, "for wisdom and learning." Driven from Dehli with his master Mullâna Khojahgi, by the irruption of Tîmûr, he was honourably received by Ibrâhim, who loaded him with honours, and to whom he dedicated several works, the *Shâh-i-Hindî* and the *Irahdd-at-Nahâd*. A rival of the philosopher was the holy Shaikh Bâdi-al-Hakkwa-ad-din Shâh Madâr who died in January of 1438—four years before his successful rival, and was laid in a great tomb built for him by Ibrâhim at Makanpûr,—his general dwelling-place between Kânpûr and Farrukhâbâd.

The march of Ibrâhim towards Dehli, in the winter of 1413, had been provoked by the vain desire of Daulat Khân, who for a time filled the throne of Dehli after Mahmûd's death, to compel Ibrâhim to raise the siege of Kâlpi, and the speedy counter-march was probably caused by news that Khîzr Khân, with his northern levies, had compelled Daulat Khân, after a siege of three months, to abdicate, and had settled himself quietly in the vacant throne. Although the Sa'id princes were feudal superiors rather than despots like the Moghals and levied their revenue rather by forays, and as reliefs, than by organized taxation, their power was steadily growing, and Ibrâhim did not care to force matters to extremity when opposed to Sa'id Mubârak in A.H. 831 (A.D. 1427).

In that year he was marching against Kâlpi, when there suddenly appeared in his camp Muhammad Khân, the rebel prince of Biânâ, who, leaving his fort with Sa'id Mubârak's forces before its walls, had hurried to get help from Ibrâhim. Aroused by expresses from Kâdir Khân, the vassal ruler of Kâlpi, and doubtless also warned of the movement of Muhammad Khân, Sa'id Mubârak marched in person against Ibrâhim.

The division which Ibrâhim had detached, under his brother Mukhlis Khân,¹ to reduce Etâwa, was driven back by a force sent from Atroli; but when the two armies marched in parallel lines from Atroli and Burhânâbâd, Ibrâhim reached the Jamnâ at a point west of Etâwa, and so must have been able to make himself master of that important fort. On the banks of the Jamnâ, and but a few miles apart, the two armies lay facing each other for three weeks, till weary of indecisive skirmishes, on the 21st March the Sharqî prince offered battle. The challenge was accepted, and from noon, till darkness separated the combatants, the battle raged with fury. Both armies lay on the field that night, but the next day, possibly after negotiating a hollow peace, and sealing it by a royal marriage of Mubârak's daughter Bibi Râjî to the heir of Jaunpûr, Ibrâhim returned to Jaunpûr.

Another expedition against Kâlpi was the last active operation of Ibrâhim's reign. In the autumn of 1435, he and Hûshang of Mâlwâ formed, apparently much at the same time, the plan of occupying Kâlpi; but when the two armies were facing each other near the place, and a battle was hourly expected, news reached Ibrâhim that Sa'îd Mubârak too had heard of his march from Jaunpûr and was preparing to attack that city. Unwilling to face the forces of the two kingdoms at once, Ibrâhim retreated and left Hûshang to make himself master of Kâlpi. His two rivals died in no long time, but Ibrâhim never again attempted Kâlpi, spending the few years left him at home, and dying in the winter of 1440 full of years and honours. "He was an active and good prince," says Abûl Fazl, "equally beloved in life, as he was regretted by all his subjects." Able, liberal, a bigoted Musalmân, and a steady, if not a bloody persecutor, he was a successful ruler and a patron of learning; and though we may agree with Akbar that his dynasty might have built more bridges and fewer masjids, we are certainly not disposed to blame the munificence which erected the Atala masjid.

Mahmûd, eldest son of Ibrâhim, succeeded without opposition, and reigned as prosperously as his father for nearly twenty years. Two years after, in 1442, complaining to the king of Mâlwâ that his vassal of Kâlpi was neglectful of the laws of Islâm, he obtained permission to attack that place; but when he had seized and plundered it, he was less attentive to the remonstrances of the suzerain who was much busied in other quarters. The king of Mâlwâ then moving to restore his vassal, in A.H. 818 or A.D. 1444, the armies met and skirmished near Irish; but an attack on Jaunpûr itself being threatened, Mahmûd agreed to a peace, negotiated by a doctor of high repute (variously recorded as Shaikh Jamal-ad-din Sâda and Shaikh Jârida) whereby Kâlpi and its neighbourhood was, after a short delay, restored to Nâsir, son and successor of Kâdir the former ruler. The forces thus set free, Mahmûd employed in extending his power in other quarters, first reducing Chunâr and its neighbourhood, afterwards apparently the last possession of his house, and then laying waste and plundering Orissa in a holy war.

Before narrating the events of that attack on Dehlî which was Mahmûd's first movement after a six years' rest, it is necessary to narrate briefly the rise of the new antagonist and future conqueror of Jaunpûr. The eventful action between Khîzr Khân and the Tughlak was determined in favour of the former by the valour of Malik

¹ Malik Khâlis and Malik Mukhlis are named by other authors as nobles of Jaunpûr in high office and as *chelas* of Firuz; they, too, were the builders of the plainest, and probably the oldest, of the masjids in the Jaunpûr style; there seems little risk in identifying Malik Mukhlis with the general Mukhlis Khân.

Sultân, an Afghan chief who slew Malik Iqbâl with his own hand. The gratitude of Khîzr Khân changed the name of his champion to Islâm Khân, and conferring on him an important government, he gave him opportunities of providing for his many brothers. On his father's death in battle, Bahlol joined his uncle Islâm Khan with whom he obtained such distinction as to be wedded to his cousin, adopted, and to the exclusion of legitimate sons, declared his uncle's heir; and after considerable opposition, even Quṭb Khân, Islâm Khan's son, made his submission, and by his constant fidelity was the chief support of Bahlol's power. Profiting by the growing weakness of Sa'id Muhammad, Bahlol, Ibrâhim Shâh Sharqî and Mahmûd Khiljî of Mâlwâ annexed more and more of the Dehli territory; but when, in the year of Ibrâhim's death, the Khiljî marched to the gates of Dehli, Sa'id Muhammad implored Bahlol's help, and though in spite of a treaty concluded between the two emperors, Bahlol plundered the retreating Khiljî, Sa'id Muhammad could not punish his disobedience, but was compelled publicly to adopt him as his son. On the accession of Alâ-ad-dîn, Bahlol abstained from taking the oath of allegiance, but followed the imperial standard in an attack on Bîâna in A.H. 850 (1446), whence the weak emperor retreated in haste on the mere rumour of the Sharqî prince's planning a march on Dehli. The fancy Alâ-ad-dîn now took for the retirement of Badâun favoured Bahlol's designs on Dehli, and, accordingly, after two attacks he captured and established himself in that city, A.H. 854, with the full consent of Alâ-ad-dîn, who, by reason of the adoption of Sa'id Muhammad, regarded Bahlol as a brother, and only asked to be left quiet in Badâun. Two years later, in the spring of 1452, when Bâyazid was in command at Dehli, his father Bahlol being absent warring in the Panjab, Mahmûd Shâh Sharqî, aided by Daryâ Khân Lodi, governor of Sambhal, laid siege to Dehli, but the hurried return of Bahlol from the northward and the questionable fidelity of Daryâ Khân made the invader plan a retreat. This, however, was delayed so long that something like a pitched battle occurred between the forces of Bahlol and a strong division of Mahmûd's army under Faṭh Khân, a native of Hirât. An elephant belonging to the latter being wounded by an arrow of Quṭb Khân, then apparently, as often afterward commanding for his cousin Bahlol, the line was broken, and Quṭb Khân, finding opportunity to reproach Daryâ Khân, the latter deserted his new allegiance, and Mahmûd's forces were utterly defeated with the loss of seven war elephants, much baggage, and of Faṭh Khân. Again a few years of peace occurred till A.H. 861; in the winter of 1456-57, Bahlol marched against Etâwa, and Mahmûd at the instigation of Jûna Khân, who had been made governor of Shamsâbâd on deserting Bahlol, hastened to oppose him. After lying face to face for a short time, the princes made terms and respectively retreated; the country was to be divided as in Sa'id Mubârak's time, Faṭh Khân's elephants were to be given up, and Jûna Khân expelled from the territories of Jaunpûr. But after the treaty was concluded and both armies had marched away, Bahlol became too impatient to wait till the autumn should make him peacefully master of Shamsâbâd, and surprised and occupied it; and Mahmûd, hurrying back in wrath, was taken ill and died in his camp near that place on the very morning after a night attack on his camp, wherein Quṭb Khân, cousin and brother-in-law of Bahlol and commandant of the attacking column, was taken prisoner.

The only remaining work of the reign of Mahmûd Shâh Sharqî is the masjid called Lâl Darwâza, built by Bibi Râjî, his queen, as a dependency of her palace

without the walls and endowed as a school. Of the palace, from whose "high gate painted with vermillion," the present name of the masjid is derived, no trace is left: it was destroyed by Sikandar Lodi in his rage at the ingratitude of Husain. This same Bibi Rājī, who was a daughter of Sa'id Mubārak of Dehli, seems to have been a woman of energy and ability, and in the short reign of her son are found many proofs of her influence; for, to begin with, though Firishta speaks of Bhikun Khān, Mahmūd's successor under the name of Muhammad, as the eldest son of the deceased, allusive by the chronicler Faqlī Khair-ad-dīn seem to show that his right to the throne was questioned. Still he was in camp with his father, and Bibi Rājī managed to seat him on the throne, and then negotiated a treaty with Bahloī, who had drawn up his army in battle array before news of Mahmūd's death reached him, in the same terms as that of the preceding summer. The two princes then marched homeward, Muhammad Shāh with his prisoner Qutb Khān, to disgust all at Jaunpūr by his cruelty and irritable temper, from which the dowager queen was the heaviest sufferer, and Bahloī to find the gates of Dehli shut in his face, and to receive a message from Shams Khatūn, his wife, that, if he meant to sit at home while her brother was a captive, he had better sit in the *zāndāna* while she led his army. Stung by this scornful message, he retraced his steps, but Muhammad Shāh had been so much more rapid in his movements that Bahloī found Rāī Karan, his governor, expelled from Shamsābād and his enemy Jāna Khān re-installed by Muhammad Shāh. In camp with the Sharqi prince were his younger brothers Husain and Jalāl; but Hasan, the elder and his rival, had stayed behind in Jaunpūr and sorely troubled the king's mind with fear of treachery. In vain were orders sent that both the prince Hasan and the prisoner Qutb Khān should be put to death: the Kotwāl replied that Bibi Rājī guarded them too carefully; and so, by inviting his mother to camp to consult about an appanage for Hasan, Muhammad cleared the way for his jealousy and his own fall. Before Bibi Rājī had arrived at Kanauj, news of her son's murder reached her; and while she stayed mourning at that city, the other sons took alarm, and Husain succeeded to get despatched with a strong force to intercept a pretended attack of Bahloī. Before Bahloī's forces Husain retreated quietly to Kanauj to be received with open arms by his mother. Jalāl Khān attempting to join Husain was captured by Bahloī. Muhammad Shāh, alarmed at these defections, also retreated on Kanauj, to find that Husain had assumed the ensigns of royalty, and had all his army drawn up to oppose his brother. Deserted by all his officers, the unfortunate Muhammad Shāh had to flee, but the same valour which had made Pratāp Singh of Māinpuri think it safer to face Bahloī than Muhammad Shāh, would have made him a dangerous foe, but that Bibi Rājī bribed his armour-bearer to break off the points of his arrows, so that he fell by treachery in an orchard after a short reign of five months.

After punishing those officers who had seemed unfavourable to his cause, Husain marched against Bahloī; but a truce for four years, ratified by the exchange of Qutb Khān for prince Jalāl, was agreed on, each party keeping its own possessions; and to this truce we may probably assign that marriage of Husain to Bibi Khonza,¹ daughter of 'Alā-ad-dīn, ex-king of Dehli and still king of Badāun, which had consequences so

¹ Other writers give the name of Husain's consort as Malika Jahān and make her the daughter of Sa'id Mubārak and so aunt of 'Alā-ad-dīn. She was a very firebrand, always pining for the magnificence of Dehli, known to her only by hearsay, and dangling before her husband's eyes the glory of being sole lord of Hindūstān.

fatal for the eastern kingdom. The four years' truce gave time for an expedition to Orissa which greatly increased Husain's wealth and fame. Mubārak Khān of Burhānābād, fearing the influence with Bahloī of his rival Daryā Khān, long governor of Sambhal, and one of the most powerful vassals of Dehli, took refuge with Husain. The vassal princes of the central Doāb, always wavering, were so far favourable to Husain as to throw no obstacles in his way, when—after exacting tribute from the Rāī of Gwāliār in the winter of 1470-71—he advanced on Dehli. Bahloī hurried back from the Panjāb, and leaving Dehli in the charge of his faithful cousin, met Husain's army on the Jamnā not far east of Āgrā. After a week's skirmishing a three years' truce was made; and at the end of that time Husain besieged and took the fort of Etāwa, and gaining over the border vassals marched on Dehli, but after some indecisive skirmishes made a new truce and retired, only to indulge himself in the same amusement a few months later.

The last-named futile expedition must have taken place about the end of 1474 and was the last which left Jaunpūr still a worthy rival of Dehli; for the short peace which now ensued was the last. In the autumn of 1477 Bibi Rājī died at Etāwa, and Quṭb Khān of Rāpri, coming with the rājā of Gwāliār on a visit of condolence, by way of making his court to Husain, spoke disparagingly of Bahloī and volunteered to support his host's claims to Dehli; but, having taken leave, he hurried to Dehli with stories of Hussain's designs and his own recent flight. From that moment both sides prepared for war. In the summer of next year the ex-king Alā-ad-din died at Badāun, and Husain, after performing the funeral ceremonies, also seized the territory to the prejudice of his brother-in-law. Marching thence he occupied Sambhal, imprisoning Mubārak Khān, who had returned to his former allegiance and succeeded his rival Daryā Khān in the government of that province, and marched on Dehli. Again Bahloī hurried back from Sirhind, and after Husain had had the better in several skirmishes, a treaty was negotiated through Quṭb Khān, Bahloī's cousin, whereby the upper Doāb was assigned to Bahloī, but all lands east of the Ganges to Husain. But as the latter was marching homewards, Bahloī attacked his rear, killed great numbers of his men, captured many officers of rank with some treasure and equipage, and occupied the parganas from Koi to Shamsābād. Husain promptly gave battle, and after an indecisive combat a peace was again patched up, Dupamau being made the common boundary. Husain could not forgive Bahloī's perfidy and again waged war, but now with continued ill success. Defeated in an obstinate battle with the loss of his baggage, he retired on Rāpri; driven thence, he moved to Gwāliār, and having been anew furnished with money and stores by the rājā, he marched on Kālpi. Meantime Bahloī compelled Husain's brother Ibrāhim to surrender Etāwa, and moved to meet his enemy at Kālpi. After some time he discovered a ford, crossed the Jamnā and defeated Husain, and—after one last battle near Kanauj—Husain had to flee on foot to Badāun, pursued as far as Haldī,—even his seraglio falling into the hands of the victor. After recruiting his army, Bahloī advanced without further check to Jaunpūr, so that the kingdom fell in the same year which had seen it attain its greatest extent.

Although the advances Bahloī had made on different occasions,—professing his attachment to the dignity he had supplanted, with which Husain was connected by marriage if not by descent, or asking only to let alone,—were probably such artifices as he had found successful in gaining him the throne, he was no ungenerous victor. He allowed Husain

to reside at Jaunpûr and finish the great masjid (*masjid-i-jâmi*) and to retain possession of a tract of country, probably round Chunâr, yielding five lakhs¹ a year. Having appointed Mubârak Khân Lohâni governor of Jaunpûr and stationed his faithful cousin Quṭb Khân at Bisauli, near Badâun, as governor-general and commander-in-chief, Bahlol halted for a time at Badâun. The value of Quṭb Khân's fidelity was now strikingly manifested, for on his death at this time his many friends prepared for revolt. Among them was Mubârak Khân, and Husain vainly hoped in the confusion to recover his old kingdom; but Bahlol without delay marched to Jaunpûr, made his eldest surviving son, Bârbak, viceroy and drove Husain away, yet still charged Bârbak not to interfere with him in his estates. In no long time the growing infirmities of his great age made Bahlol anxious finally to settle his affairs. Declaring Nizâm his successor and conferring on him the government of Dehlî and the upper Doâb, he took pains to secure his favourite from the hostility of his grandson Azim Humâyûn and his son Bârbak, governor of Jaunpûr, separating their governments by others assigned to his most trusted officers, and soon after died in camp in the central Doâb in the summer of 1489.

By following the advice of Qatlagh Khân, the ex-Vazîr of Husain, Nizâm having escaped the dangers which threatened him personally, ascended the throne under the name of Sikandar, and after subduing nearer and less dangerous rivals, marched against Bârbak, who formally refused to do homage or to read Sikandar's name in the public prayers. The governor of Bahrâich, cousin to the two rivals, commanded a division of Bârbak's army, but being taken in the beginning of the first battle and received in a flattering manner by Sikandar, changed sides with the usual facility of the time, and charging his old friends, made all fear treachery and flee. Bârbak's valour could not restore the day, and he fled westward while his son was taken prisoner; but on his surrender, he was reinstated in his government of Jaunpûr as a check on Husain, who was still in force in Bihâr. But Bârbak was too weak for his work, and in the spring of 1492, Sikandar had scarcely reached Dehlî after a long and successful campaign, when he received news of a dangerous revolt in the old kingdom of Jaunpûr. Bârbak had fled to Bahrâich, Mubârak Khân of Karrâ had been taken prisoner, and his brother, who also held a government of some importance, killed. But the march of Sikandar soon caused the release of Mubârak Khân and the return of Bârbak; and the rebels having been defeated at Katgar, Bârbak was reinstalled. But even the near neighbourhood of the emperor could not insure Bârbak's good conduct or make his subjects bear his tyranny; for in less than a month, while Sikandar was still marching about, there was another outbreak when Bârbak was committed to safe custody and his government entrusted to Jamâl Khân, the first patron of Sher Shâh. In the winter of the same year the emperor made a reconnaissance of Chunâr—still in the possession of Husain; but, though he repulsed a sally of the garrison, he doubted his power to capture so strong a place and marched along the right bank of the Ganges, receiving on his way the submission of the Gaharwâr râjâ of Kantit. In the winter of 1494-95 he again marched to the south and east, but—being overtaken by the rains—after losing from natural causes most of his cavalry, fell back on Jaunpûr for supplies. Hereupon Narsingh Râi of Kantit sent word to Husain in Bihâr of the crippled state of his enemy; but Sikandar had no

¹ The *Mirdt-ul-'Âlam* says five karos of dâms, equivalent to twelve and a half lakhs of rupees.

sooner heard of Husain's movement than he hurried to meet him and defeated him in a great battle some two marches from Banaras on the right bank of the Ganges. Husain fled to the court of Gaur, was there courteously received, and died here in obscurity just five years later, but was buried in Jaunpur. With him ended the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur, of which the following is the chronology :—

A.H. A.D.

796 or 1394. Kwfjah-i-Jahān.

802, 1399. Mubārak Shāh, adopted son.

803, 1400. Shams-ad-din Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, younger brother.

844, 1440. Mahmūd Shāh, son; associated his son in 861, died 883.

861, 1456. Muhammad Shāh, son.

863, 1458. Husain Shāh, brother, subdued by Bahlol in 879 or 881; fled to Bengal in 893 (?) and died in 905; his coins run on to 909.

892, 1486. Bārbak Shāh-ibn-Bahlol of Dehlī, appointed governor; removed in 899.

Having subdued Bihār and exacted tribute from the rājā of Tīrhūt, Sikandar returned to Jaunpur, determined to leave no sign or trace that the hated family of Husain had ever existed. The great palace on the banks of the Gūmtī, that of Bibi Rājī without the walls, the dower-house, and the burial-place under the shadow of the great Jāmi masjid, were all razed to the ground, and the utmost influence of the doctors of the law could scarcely save the masjids from utter destruction. The nobles of the court were encouraged to use these palaces as quarries, and the prolonged stay of Sikandar, who seems to have made this place his headquarters till after the death of Husain, was as little favourable to the place as the notion of his son Jalāl, the new governor, that it was less healthy than another site which took his fancy some eight miles to the north-east, on the right bank of the Sāt, where he and his nobles built palaces of which no trace is left, and the first of the three fine bridges which are still glories of Jaunpur.

Sikandar died on the 14th December 1517, and the arrogance of his eldest son and successor Ibrāhīm soon so disgusted his nobles that they conspired against him with Jalāl. The latter was at Kālpī, which was also under his charge, but he had not reached Jaunpur, where he was to be enthroned, when the conspirators changed their minds and determined to stand by Ibrāhīm. But Jalāl thought himself too far committed, and though his friends fell off from him daily, he placed his family in safety at Kālpī and marched on Āgrā. Here the governor amused him with negotiations till Kālpī had fallen and Ibrāhīm in person was at hand. Jalāl then fled to Gwāliār, but after divers escapes was captured and murdered. His government of Jaunpur was entrusted to Daryā Khān Lohāni, who died shortly after Bābar's invasion. His son and successor Bahādur was chosen leader and under the title Sultān Muhammad proclaimed king by the Afghāns after Ibrāhīm's defeat and the capture of Āgrā,—and so for a short time again Jaunpur was the capital of a kingdom which extended from Oudh to Bihār. But when Humāyūn, dry-nursed by Firūz and Mahmūd Khān, both old servants of the Lodi house, led the chief part of the Moghal army against the confederates, the latter slowly retired first on Jaunpur, then on Bihār, and by the end of 1525 Jaunpur had for ever ceased to be independent. Humāyūn spent his short stay in Jaunpur in endeavours to renew its prosperity and ancient glories, even restoring in some part, with the old materials, the buildings which had been quarries for Jalāl's new palaces at

Jalālpur; and when recalled to command in the great war of the next spring, he appointed Junaid Birlās governor with his own two advisers and Qāzi Abd-al-Jubbār as a sort of council of regency. Three years later Bābar himself must have visited the place when on his march against Mahmūd Khān, king of Bihār, but afterwards repulsing that prince he contented himself with a charge to Junaid to continue the war in conjunction with Jalāl,¹ ex-king of Jaunpūr, and returning to Āgrā died there on the 24th December 1520.

As the great and successful rival of Humāyūn was connected by many ties with Jaunpūr, it is necessary briefly to sketch his rise. He was the eldest legitimate son of Hasan Khān, an Afghān favourite of Jamāl Khān, the successor of Bārbak in the government of Jaunpūr. But Hasan so neglected his wife and her sons that Farīd, leaving his father's house at Salsarām, took service under Jamāl Khān, refusing to return home on the pretence that at the capital he had more opportunities for acquiring learning: and he is said greatly to have profited by these opportunities. When three years later Hasan came to Jaunpūr, Farīd was reconciled to his father, who, wishing to live at Jaunpūr, made over charge of the jāgīr to his son. The father afterwards promised to make Sulaimān, a younger son by a concubine, his heir; but on Hasan's death Farīd obtained the patent from the king, and Sulaimān took refuge with Muhammād

¹ This Jalāl-ad-din Nasrat Shāh Sharqī, ex-king of Jaunpūr, is about as puzzling a personage as it is easy to find; and but for the necessity of speaking of the pretended descendants of the ancient princes who still dwell at Jaunpūr one would have been tempted to leave out all mention of one who really plays so small a part. He prepared a "royal entourage at Karrī" for Bābar on his eastward march in the winter of 1528-29 and "was honoured with an audience." He can therefore hardly be that son of Shahīl who was so mature at his father's death forty years before as already to be governor of Kālpī; besides no connection of that prince with Jaunpūr is recorded. Nor can he be Jalāl, the son of Sikandar, who assumed the title of king of Jaunpūr; for it is distinctly recorded that he was put to death by his brother, Brāhīm, and even though he had escaped and had somehow acquired estates and government in his old appanage of Kālpī, he would not have marched in Bābar's train against his brother and claimant in Bihār. If we could account for his presence in Karrī, we should say that his ex-king was probably Jalāl Khān, son of the Afghan pretender Muhammād Shāh Lohāl, set up at Jaunpūr after Bābar's defeat of Ibrahim Lodi, when driven out of Jaunpūr the same family ruled in Bihār, and shortly before the present march, Sher Shāh had supplanted this prince, his former pupil, and driven him to Bengal. But we have not yet exhausted the subject, for Khair-ad-din, who takes more interest in minutiae, does not, with Firishta, record the Sharqi dynasty as extinct in Hussain, but gives him a son, Jalāl-ad-din, married to the only child of Nasib Shāh, king of Gaur whom he succeeded—apparently in Hussain's life-time, for he sent Hussain's corpse to Jaunpūr. Now Hussain certainly is buried at Jaunpūr, and though Silmedar was more employed in the west in the later years of his reign, yet (whatever as his noddles were), large bribes must have been offered before any governor of Jaunpūr would have let his master's special enemy be sojourn in his ancestral town, in the house Silmedar had with such pains destroyed: a more probable solution would be that at some later time, possibly when the Afghāns were strengthening their bands against Bābar, Hussain's bones were exhumed and re-interred. But at all to fit in Khair-ad-din's genealogy with Firishta's, it is necessary to rely much on possible changes of name; Nasib Shāh must be identified with Alād-din Hussain Shāh, the king of Gaur, with whom Hussain took refuge, who reigned from 1498 to 1521 and who was succeeded successively by his sons Nasir Shāh and Mahmūd, and these must be supposed to prove adoptions by his son-in-law Jalāl and his grandson. Scarce credible as this may seem, Jaunpūr was the chief part of the bribe said by Khair-ad-din to have been offered by Humāyūn to Mahmūd Shāh of Gaur as the price of his support against Sher Shāh; from Firishta one would rather think that Mahmūd would have been as much surprised as pleased by his ally's help to recover possession of his late kingdom of Gaur. Khair-ad-din adds that Mahmūd fell in the great battle near Kanauj, 1540, wherein Sher Shāh overthrew Humāyūn, but was supported in his last moments by his generous enemy who laid him with his fathers in Jaunpūr and enriched and protected his family. The heir of the dead man, then a child, was known as Sultān Hussain, alias 'Umar Khān; he used his wealth to restore in part the dower-house and to decorate and improve the capital of his ancestors. His descendants retained more or less of dignity, but Khair-ad-din gets confused about them about the time of 'Alamgīr. There is no doubt that the present occupants of the old house are representatives of Mahmūd Shāh Pūrbi. The steps by which the Sharqi dynasty became blended with the Pūrbi are less clear.

The house so often called the dower-house is separated only by a lane from the northern cloister of the Jāmi Masjid. Sikandar broke down to the level of the court all the buildings but the cloister in the grave-yard; 'Umar Khān's repairs made habitable part of the adjoining court. The basement was left uninjured; to this as to other buildings older edifices furnished materials; it is an oblong of some one hundred and ninety feet by one hundred and forty, having at all corners the foundations of round turrets.

Shâh Sûr, a distant relative, governor of the district—not the province—of Jaunpûr. This noble, failing in an attempt to make Farid share the administration as well as the property with his brother, became his bitter enemy, and was planning his ruin when Bâbar's invasion threw everything into confusion. Farid at once joined the Afghân pretender, who was set up at Jaunpûr, was made tutor of his son Jalâl, and on an act of conspicuous valour was honoured with the title of Sher Khân. But his old enemy managed to change the Afghân prince's mind against Sher Khân, who was at last compelled to take refuge with Junaid Birlâs, already governing Karrâ, and with his help he recovered his old jâgîr together with other districts, all of which he held of the Moghals. But he had no foolish prejudices for loyalty, and finding an opportunity, returned to nominal allegiance to Muhammad Shâh Lohânt, now ruling only Bihâr, whose son and successor Jalâl he soon after supplanted, partly in self-defence. But when Mahmûd Lodî, son of Sikandar Shâh, fled before Humâyûn from Chitor to Patna, and was there chosen king of Bihâr by the Afghân chiefs, Sher Khân had to submit, obtaining only his old jâgîr and a written promise that on recovery of Jaunpûr, Mahmûd would yield Bihâr to his vassal ally. Hereupon forces marched against the Moghals, who evacuated the whole province of Jaunpûr. Humâyûn was engaged in the siege of Kâlañjar, but advanced to the support of his deputy. Sher Khân thought himself slighted in the distribution of commands in the Afghân army, and wrote to Amir Hindû Beg, who had probably already governed the city of Jaunpûr, promising not to oppose the Moghal, and his defection in the battle of the next day was the chief cause of the defeat of the Afghâns. But not long after Junaid Birlâs had been re-installed at Jaunpûr, Humâyûn sent Amir Hindû Beg to demand of Sher Khân the surrender of Chunâr, and though more urgent affairs distracted his attention while Sher Khân's power was growing, yet the sudden outbreak of the Afghâns, on the death of Junaid Birlâs, compelled Humâyûn to march to Jaunpûr in the summer of 1538, and his success there and in Bengal was the proximate cause of his ruin; for, while he was loitering in the east, his brother Hindâl Mirzâ revolted; and after his terrible defeat near Baksar in 1539, Humâyûn quite lost for the time his hold on Eastern India. Jaunpûr indeed held out for a short time under Amir Hindû Beg and his son Baba Beg Jalayûn, but before his great victory on the 17th May 1540, Sher Shâh was undisputed sovereign of all India east of Âgrâ, and 'Adil Khân, his son, was his viceroy in Jaunpûr.

In the troubles which preceded the return of Humâyûn, Jaunpûr with the other eastern provinces changed masters a dozen times; but its fort was no longer the chief place of strength, for the possessor of Chunâr—fortified as a treasure-house by Sher Shâh—was of necessity supreme. Nor does it play any conspicuous part in the early part of Akbar's reign, at least till the rebellion of Ali Quli Khân, Khan Zamân. This noble, an ally of Bairâm Khân, had been made governor of Sambhal by Humâyûn, and in the year 1558 he was made also governor of Jaunpûr and Panjhazârî. In no long time he expelled the Afghân governors from the adjoining districts, and when—three years later—the Afghâns of Bengal attempted to recover the frontier provinces, he and his brother Bahâdur Khân utterly defeated them. Yet this success nearly resulted in Khan Zamân's ruin at court, for he withheld the customary offering till Akbar had led a strong army as far eastwards as Karrâ. The clemency which left this insolence unpunished was but ill requited, for in 1563 began the troubles with Ali Quli Khân which

only ended with his death in battle on the 6th June 1567, and the execution of some of his Uzbak allies, who were taken at the same time and trampled to death by elephants at Jaunpûr—almost as part of the ceremonial which attended the installation of Khân Khânân Munim Khân in that rich and important government. During these years Akbar's headquarters seem to have been alternately at Jaunpûr and Chunâr, and the province may not have been formally entrusted to any one till Munim Khân received it after Khân Zamân's death; for more than once it was restored to the traitor on his pretended and temporary submission. But any detail of the operations seems to pertain rather to general history than to the special history of Jaunpûr.

One event, however, must be noted:—when the mother of Khân Zamân was confined in the fort of Jaunpûr under the charge of Ushraf Khân the governor, her brother's son, Bahâdur Khân, in the summer of 1536, with a stronger force surprised the fort, burnt the gates, broke down its chambers, imprisoned the governor, rescued his mother, and after plundering the city, returned on Banâras, and when he heard of Akbar's advance, breaking down two arches of the Jalâlpur bridge to prevent pursuit. It is scarcely credible that even after this revolt Khân Zamân was re-installed in his government, and that not till he was actually killed did Akbar finally appoint his successor, conferring the government on Khân Khânân Munim Khân, the last viceroy who resided in Jaunpûr. For eight years after his death a new city and fort were built at the confluence of Ganges and Jamnâ, to be the headquarters of the viceroy of the East; and though the province of Jaunpûr was conferred on Khân Khânân 'Abdâr Rahîm in 1590, in lieu of Gujarat, he never seems to have visited his government, though he made or found his grandson, Ma'sûm Khân, Nasîm; and from that time the great of men of Jaunpûr was either the Nasîm or else the governor of the fort, who drew pay for himself and the garrison from certain small dependent-parganas, and whose post was so little valued that in 1598 Jamîl Khan was about to break into open rebellion when invited to yield for this the government of the stronger fort of Chunâr.

CHAPTER II.

THE GREAT BRIDGE AND LATER HISTORY.

To Munim Khān Jaunpur owes its most useful, if not its most beautiful, building, the great bridge. Yet if we here follow Khair-ad-din, whose narrative contains much local detail and is supported by the metrical dates inscribed on the piers, we find that Firishta's information is faulty in a period when naturally it should be best, for Khair-ad-din makes Munim Khān governor in A.H. 972 (1564) and in that year to have founded the bridge. As the following six inscriptions, Nos. I to VI, show, it was begun in A.H. 972 (1564) and finished in 976 (1568).

Inscription No. I is in Persian on the top of the third kiosk, on the right hand, north end of the bridge; lines 1 and 2 facing the south and lines 3 and 4 facing the north. Each stone is of greyish sandstone and measures 3' 4" by 8"; the characters are beautifully cut. The metre is *Hazaj* :—

مقام ساخت سلطان السلاطین سرسته آب و خاکش از سرت.
بعشرت کامران بادا که آمد در او قبلاً ارباب حلخت
اللهی ناقیامت باد معمر ازین بانی بنای دین و دولت
چه از پیر خود تاریخ آن جست پنین پیر خود گفتا بعضیت

1. The emperor built this place whose materials are impregnated with happiness.
2. May (*he*) ever live successful, for its door is the *qibla* of expectants!
3. O God! the foundation of religion and wealth may ever remain by its founder!
4. When (*I*) enquired the date from the old wisdom, the old wisdom replied "with pleasure."

The *abjad* powers of the letters for "with pleasure" give the date A.H. 972 (1564). Khair-ad-din mentions that "a poet found the date of its foundation in the words for 'with pleasure.' Khān Khānān therefore rewarded him with 972 gold mohars." The inscription itself is not given in the *Jaunpurndmāh*.

Inscription No. II¹ is written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian prose on the top of the east wall, on the south end of the bridge, in seven lines, on reddish sandstone, each block measuring 2' 10" by 1' 2". The characters are well preserved.

این عمارت عالی و اساس متعالی در ایام
دولت حضرت العظیم السلطان و الخاقان
مظہر معظم آثار السلطان ظل الله

¹ Inscriptions Nos. II-VI were first published by the late Dr. Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for July 1873. Some of his readings are, however, incorrect, probably owing to the deficiencies of the rubbings supplied to him by General A. Cunningham. Faqir Khair-ad-din in his *Jaunpurndmāh* has only given inscriptions Nos. III and V.

ابو الغازی جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ
از خالص مال صاحب خیری سمت اتمام
یافست که ذم نامی رسال بنا و اتمامش
این کلام است و پانی این منعم خل

"This magnificent building and splendid foundation was successfully completed at the private cost of the bounteous Sire, in the reign of the great king, emperor, high representative of the emblem of royalty, shadow of God, the great conqueror Jalâl-ad-dîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh." The famous name and the year of foundation and completion is given in these words: "Its builder (*is*) Munim Khân." [A.H. 975 = 1567.]

In this inscription Akbar is called Abûl Ghâzî instead of Abûl Faâth.

Inscription No. III is written in Persian verse on the top of the second pier, north end, on the west side, in six lines, on a reddish sandstone, measuring 2' 10" by 1' 2". The metre is *Mutaqârib-i-sâlim*.

زهی خل خانل منعم که پاشد
درش قبله جمله ملکی آگه
پس بست از سک برزی دریا
کنزو بکرده اهل دل "یکه
چو از نقل الله شد بسته این یل
ازان گشت تاریخ آن نقل الله
۹۷۶

1. The Khân Khanân of heavenly bounty,
2. Whose gate is the *qibla* (Makka) of all wise men,
3. Built a stone bridge across the river,
4. So that people may cross from time to time.
5. As this bridge is built by the grace of God,
6. Hence its date is *Fazli allah* ["grace of God"]. [A.H. 976 = 1568 A.D.]

Inscription No. IV is written in Persian prose on the top of the second pier, north end, east side, in four lines, on a greyish sandstone, measuring 2' 10" by 1' 2".

این پل بالحکام علی نسبت مهاتم العظام
غوث القم خواجه شیخ نظام الدین
پسر حضرت اعظم مخدومی شیخ عبدالعزیز
پیرمندی نادر العصر استاد افضل علی کابلی با تمام رسید

"This lofty bridge was completed under the superintendence of the great Shaikh, just to men, Khwâja Shaikh Nizâm-i-Nizâm-ad-dîn, son of Hazrat Makbdûm-i-'Abdul 'Azîz, and under the guidance of the unparalleled architect (*ustâd*) Afzal Ali Kâbulî."

Inscription No. V is written in Persian on the top of the first pier, north end, east side, in ten lines, on a reddish sandstone, measuring 3' 6" by 1' 4". The first eight

lines are written in verse, the metre being *Ramal*, the last two lines are in prose. The characters are well preserved.

خان خانان خان منعم اقتدار
بست این پل را ب توفيق کریم
نام آن منعم ازان آمد که هست
بر خلائق هم کریم و هم رحیم
از صراط مستقیم شاخص ظاهر است
شاه راهی سری جنات النعیم
و بتاریخش بیو گر انکنی
لفظ بد را از صراط المستقیم
۹۷۰

حق سلطانه تعالیٰ بانی این بنارا در پله خود دارد
خالله و کاتبه عیدر محمد محسن الدین انیم است

1. Khan Khanan Munim Khan, the generous,
2. Built this bridge by the grace of God.
3. He is named Munim [“one who confers benefits”], because
4. He is gracious and merciful to the people.
5. His *Sirat-al-mustaqim* leads the thoroughfare
6. Towards the gardens of heaven.
7. You will find its date if you deduct
8. The word “bad” from “Sirat-al-mustaqim.”¹
9. May the Holy God ever keep the founder of this building in His protection!
10. The composer and writer of these verses is Mir Muhammad Muhsin-ad-din, a sinful man.

The value of the letters of the words “*Sirat-al-mustaqim*” is 981, and if we subtract the value of the letters of “*bad*,” i.e., 6, we get 981—6 = 975 A.H. = 1567 A.D.

Inscription No. VI is written in Persian verse, the metre being *Mujhas*, on the top of the first pier, north end, west side, in four lines, on a reddish sandstone, measuring 2' 10" by 1' 2". The characters of the first two lines have become partially obliterated.

این پل که به بست
بر عرصه تنگ چنان
تاریخ بنای آن چو جسم از غیب
گفتند پل محمد منعم خان
۹۷۰

¹ The faithful Mussalmān before entering paradise has to pass over a bridge called *Sirat-al-mustaqim*, “the established path,” which leads over a bottomless abyss, but the path is as narrow and as sharp as the edge of a sword.

1. The bridge which has been built in such a short time.
2.
3. When I enquired from the invisible being the date of its foundation,
4. (*The angels*) said : "the bridge of Muhammad Munim Khan." [A.H. 975 = 1567 A.D.]

General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Reports*, volume XI, page 122, is quite in error in saying that "inscriptions in verse were placed on *every* pier giving the date and the name of the builder." There is no trace to be found of any inscription on the other piers, and all those extant are well preserved with the exception of No. VI.

It is curious that the great bridge should have owed its foundation to the humanity of Akbar and not to the munificence of Husain, who throughout his reign was contented to use a bridge of boats for his gorgeous processions to the *īdgāh* he had built on the south bank. For Akbar, who was very fond of boating, during his excursions saw one night a poor widow lamenting loudly that she could not get ferried across, and the emperor having taken her over, stationed boats at the ghāt for like purposes for the future, but also remarked to Munim Khan on the advantages of building a bridge there, somewhat disparaging the former kings for their preference of masjids. Further reference was made to the subject in next day's durbār, and Munim Khan came forth from the presence, pledged, both in his own opinion and the emperor's, to build a great bridge in the place of the evening's adventure. The true bridge measures some 380 feet within the inner faces of the abutments, but as each pier averages 14 feet in thickness, the entire waterway is less than 200 feet. Of the ten arches the middle group of four are of perceptibly larger span than the three arches at each end, and the kiosks which—as is usual with Indian bridges—were added as decorations, adorn the northern middle arch. The bridge was built by a Kābuli architect of the name of 'Afzal 'Ali at the expense of Munim Khan.¹ Khair-ad-din in his *Jaunpūrñdīmāh* states that "the builder is Fahim Khan, governor of the fort and manager under Munim Khan and who appointed as his deputy Khwāja Dost, an Afghan Jhgirdār of Ghiswa who brought the chief masons from his own estates." But from history we know that Fahim Khan was a slave of Munim Khan's successor, Mirzā Abdūr Rahim; and Khwāja Dost is Khwāja Shaikh Nizām-i Nizām-ad-din of inscription No. IV. Of course the real cost cannot be even approximately guessed; it is said to have reached 20 lakhs;² but a vague expression makes one suspect that this round sum—if one could believe it to be anything more than a rough guess—included all moneys laid out on the Fort and other buildings; anyhow Khwāja Shaikh Nizām took the credit to himself of saving materials enough to build a bridge and a mansion where the road to Ghiswa and Allahabad crosses the river Sāi.

¹ See Inscription No. IV above.

² Another account makes the cost fourteen lakhs, an estimate which does not contradict the suggestions of the thirty lakhs included the whole cost of public work. Of course, the whole is said to have been paid by Munim Khan. The bridge Pul Guzār, about eight miles west of Jaunpūr, said to have been built from the leavings of the great bridge and finished A.H. 979 (A.D. 1569), carries the Allahābād road over the Sāi, at a height of twenty-five feet above the winter water-level, and the embankment of approach extends a long way on each side. Originally it consisted of eight 18-feet arches with piers of somewhat greater breadth; one or two arches had more than once been destroyed by floods and repaired; but when a pier was again broken down in the rains of 1847, arrangements were made for remodelling the whole. Two arches were in each case thrown into one, to the increased beauty of the bridge and improvement in every way. Another bridge of nine pointed arches, built in 1510 by Jalāl, son of Sikandar Lodi, ten and a half miles south-east from Jaunpūr, carries the Banaras road over the Sāi at Jalālpur.

On the roadway at the north end of the bridge, there is a large stone statue of a lion standing over a small elephant. The attitude is stiff, and the workmanship, especially of the legs, is hard, wiry, and unnatural. From the style of the sculpture it is clear that it must originally have occupied the top of some large gateway of one of the Hindû temples destroyed by Ibrâhim or by one of his successors.

The bridge was not, however, the only work of Munim Khân. He built, besides several masjids, a palace for the governor in a walled garden adjoining the bridge on the northern bank; an outer gate of stone, adorned with coloured tiles, and an outer court for the fort; with several hot baths in different parts of the city which he endowed also,—that the citizens might use them without charge. For a general view of the great bridge see the frontispiece, Plate I.

JAUNPUR: LATER HISTORY.

The connected history of Jaunpûr ceases with the foundation of Allâhâbâd; thenceforward it only appears at intervals like any other country town, and nothing further remains but rambling mention of different incidents in its steady decay. Aurangzib visited the place, and but for court intrigues would have restored at all events the masjids to their former beauty. Near relations of 'Ahmad Khân Bangash lived here, and one of the first acts of his administration was to confer the government on them; that they ever succeeded in wresting it from the Nawâb Vazir of Oudh is not so clear, though Sâhib Zamân Khân laid the country waste and partly destroyed the fort. Both Abûl Mansûr Khân and Sa'âdat 'Ali made long halts here, occupying the old palace of Munim Khân; but when the *fîrmân* of the four Sarkârs was conferred on Bâlwant Singh, the fort was still retained by the Nawâbs, and his little garrison repaired so much of the palace as was wanted for their own occupation.

When, however, this district passed into the hands of the English, though Chunâr was garrisoned, the fort of Jaunpûr was left to Chait Singh. Warren Hastings may have visited the city, Sir Eyre Coote certainly did, while Duncan's visit in 1788 is recorded in those volumes of *Proceedings* which are mouldering unnoticed on the record shelves of the Commissioner and Collector of Banâras. He writes too favourably of the site, and laments the decay of the town, telling how that once it was "the seat and resort of Muhammadan science and the residence of many of their learned men, insomuch that it was known by the appellation of the Shirâz of India." And with this tribute to the past fame of the city at the hand of the distinguished man who was the first European personally concerned in the administration of the city or province, the history of Jaunpûr may here close.

Vague as is our knowledge of the revenues of the kingdom of Jaunpûr, we have not material even for a guess as to the expenditure. Vast sums doubtless were lavished on jewels and shows after the usual fashion of native courts; wars waged by armies even of feudal militia are costly; yet if we go beyond such generalities we can only repeat tales of the schools founded, or run through the roll of noble buildings built by the kings of Jaunpûr. And though no trace be now left of these schools but the story of their past fame, we have better ground than Mr. Duncan's for saying that this city was the Shirâz or the mediæval Paris of India. Firûz determined to make it a seat of learning worthy of his cousin's fame. Each of the princes of Jaunpûr prided himself on patronising

science, and the troubles which in the early part of the fourteenth century scattered the doctors of the ancient imperial city, were eminently favourable to the rise of a school of learning in the peaceful and secure Jaunpûr. Shahâb-ad-dîn and his master in Ibrâhim's time, and the dozen holy men—who must have been more than mad beggars, if we may judge by the respect and attention they received from that able prince,—these were the first professors of Jaunpûr. Nearly at the same time with Bâbâ Nânak flourished Sa'îd Muhammad Jaunpûrî, founder of the Mahdi sect which—teaching severe asceticism and justifying its members in preventing breaches of sacred law even by slaying the offender—had to be put down with a little sharp persecution by Salim Shâh Sûr. So great was the influence of Shâh Quṭb-ad-dîn, a blind devotee of Husain's time, that he was able to depute a disciple to act for him as Qâzi in Bhadohî. Even in Muhammad Shâh's time twenty famous schools existed in Jaunpûr of which now but the names are known, the founder of one having died in the middle of the fifteenth century, of another in the middle of the seventeenth. Nor was scholastic learning only cultivated : Husain is described as "a clever and luxurious prince, skilled in music, a connoisseur and a composer," and verses set to music of his composition are said still to exist. Sher Shâh did not want to study only the commentaries of Muhammadan doctors or the tenets of Sa'îd Muhammad when he refused to leave Jaunpûr for his father's hall at Sahsarâm. Of the successful cultivation of other arts let the noble masjids of Ibrâhim and Husain

CHAPTER III.
BUILDINGS OF JAUNPŪR.

But before speaking in detail of these buildings, now the sole memorials of the wealth of the powerful princes of Jaunpūr as also the evidence of their taste and culture, let us notice briefly those less important buildings which bear less conspicuously the marks of the dominant style. We are not indeed prepared to catalogue the many tombs of more or less pretension which from the time of Firuz to the present day have been built over former dwellers of Jaunpūr, nor to trace the fort Ibrāhim built at Rāi Bareli, or give a plan of the *kankar*-built palace erected by Vijayachandra II., and appropriated by the new dynasty, the remains of whose courts and halls occupy the centre of a lovely wood-clad knoll overhanging the Gūmti some two miles west of the bridge. But not even the attractions of the later masjids will permit us to leave without notice the fort of Firuz or the masjid and halls with which it was decorated by Ibrāhim Nāib Bārbak, Firuz's brother.

The fort is an irregular quadrangle on the north bank of the Gūmti, formed by a stone wall built round an artificial earthen mound. Externally the walls are of considerable height, but as the mound occupies only the eastern half, their height from the level of the fort within is not uniform. Without, too, the higher ground on the side next the town made the northern wall always the most favourable to an escalading party. Besides a sally-port on the south-east face,—approached from within only by a steep passage, barely wide enough for an elephant, and cut through the artificial mound which might have been easily closed by a few cart-loads of earth,—the only entrance was by a gateway on the east, represented on Plate II,—unprotected by any outwork unless the walls of the city be regarded in that light—which doubtless existed, though there is no trace left of them. This building is 46' 4" high, 43' 8" wide at the base, and 40' 3" along the top, giving a slope to the walls of 1' 8½" each. On both sides of the entrance are large projecting piers connected by a lofty stone archway, and divided into four storeys by ornamented string mouldings. In the face of each storey is an arched recess containing an inner panel having a cusped head ornamented with *palera* and bell. Over the recess is a flat stone lintel incised with ornament. The gable wall under the main arch is pierced by a small arched opening, below which is a small bracketed cornice. Below this is another archway springing from moulded capitals crowning the jambs at the angles of the entrance. The lower part of the gateway is strengthened by a heavy plinth of similar design to that round the east entrance to the Atala masjid. The top is embattled and loopholed. In depth the gateway is about 16' 1", and on each side of the entrance leading to the fort is a small low chamber, 3' 8" by 4' 7" and 7' 10" high.

On the north and south side the gate is guarded by round loopholed bastions much wider at the base than above, and on the east face they have bartisans resting on moulded corbels.

The fort had more than once been carried by bold assailants burning the gate, before Mūnim Khān, Khān Khānān, built an outer court of brick with a fine gateway of stone adorned with *Kāshāni* work,¹ whose chambers were never finished.

The main block of this gateway measures 37' 6" by 28' 6", but on the south side a wing has been added 27' 0" by 8' 0", which contains a staircase leading to an upper chamber over the entrance and which measures 34' 1" by 14' 1½". The walls are massive and thicker on the front than in the rear. On each side of the entrance is a deep recess 7' 11" by 12' 7", half-domed, with a vestibule between them measuring 14' 9" by 14' 10½" and crowned by a flat stone cupola. From outside the gateway resembles one of the great propylons in front of the masjids, the walls batter upwards, and the general design is the same. It is 36' 8" high.

The central portion stands back somewhat from the main face, and in it a large arch has been introduced, the spandrels over which are enriched by encaustic tile-work. Below this arch is a smaller one, 9' 7" to the springing and 7' 10" to the crown by 11 feet wide, through which access is gained to the courtyard. The space between the two arches is filled in with masonry, and the centre is pierced by an arched opening below which runs a small string moulding breaking up what otherwise would be plain field of ashlarising. The top of the gateway is crowned by a slight cornice, the frieze of which is composed of a flat glazed band of floral ornamentation in blue and yellow.

The space on each side of the main arch is divided into five storeys, and in each is inserted a deep arched niche or recess, 3' 6" in width and 5' 2" in height, all of which are highly ornamented. They are enclosed in architraves, the faces of which are enriched with carving: that of the second storey being carved with a Saracenic pattern, and that of the third storey is ornamented with a chevron device in colour, while the others are embellished with a hexagonal and diamond pattern filled in with blue and yellow colours. The spandrels are similarly treated. The backs have cusped arches relieved by the bell ornament so frequently met with throughout the Jaunpūr buildings. Of the room over the entrance little remains save the jambs of the window and door openings and a few feet of the walls.

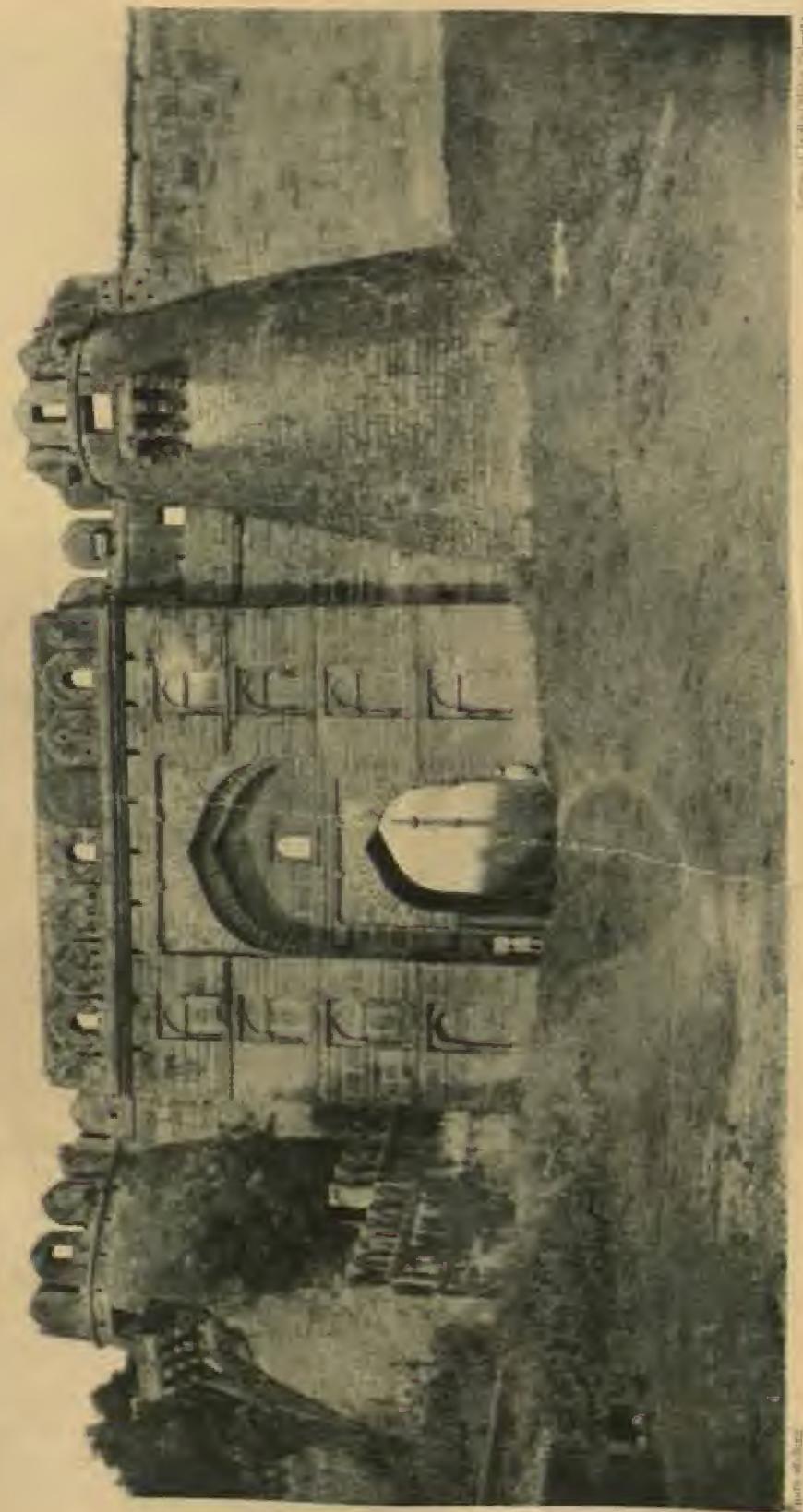
On the whole, the structure is in a fair state of preservation and with a small outlay might be repaired. The police now occupy it and the adjoining quarters, and let us therefore hope that some little care and attention will be bestowed on this old example of what military architecture used to be in India.

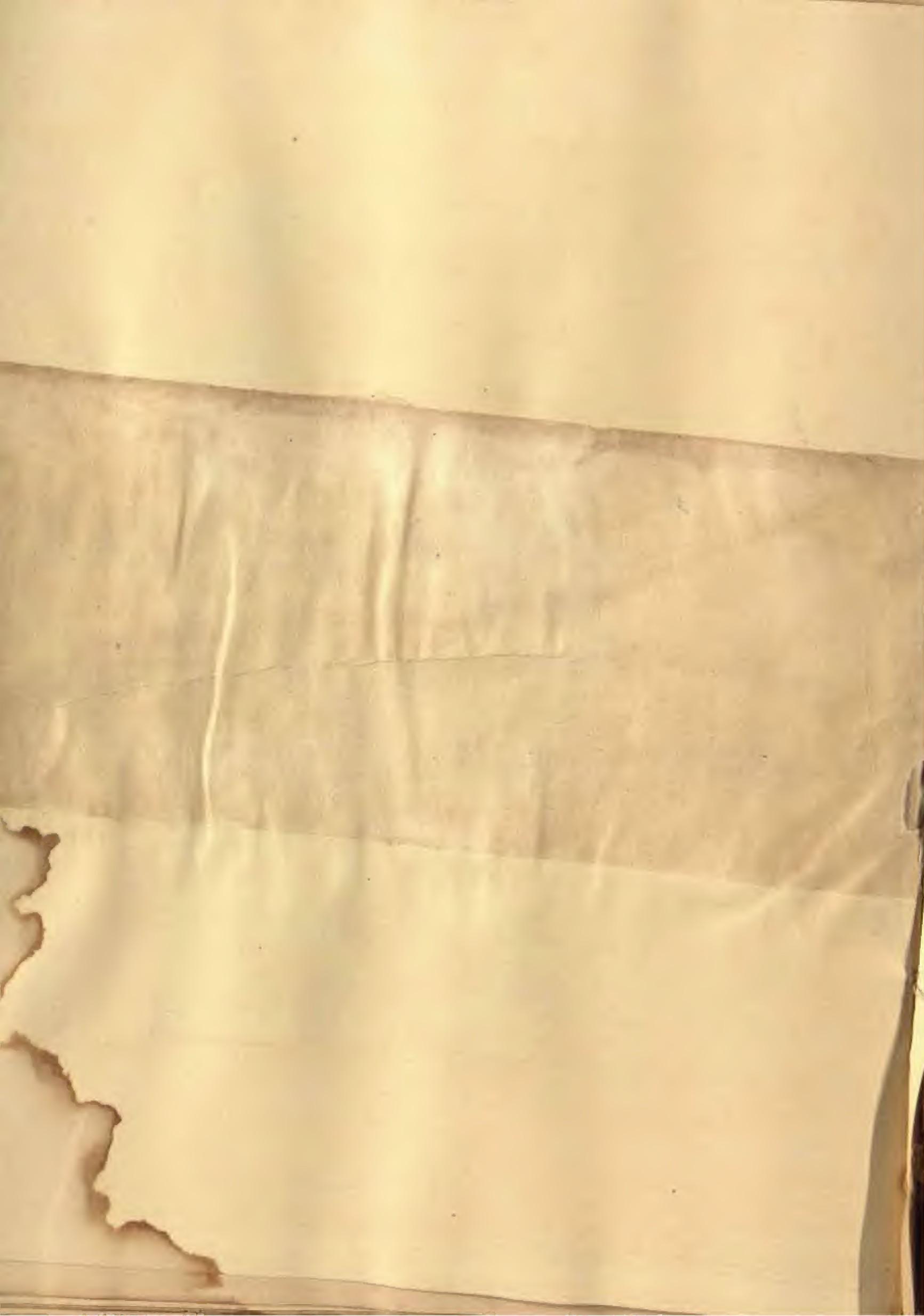
Firuz used the ruined temples of an earlier creed as quarries—and therein he was largely imitated by later princes—in obtaining materials for his new works. To what an extent Firuz drew on the ruins would hardly be believed by one who saw only the smooth walls standing, but when the towers were blown up in 1859, the inner face of nearly every stone bore carvings which had apparently made parts of Brāhmanical temples; in the walls remaining such carved blocks are not rare, the carvings being generally revealed by accident, yet sometimes it has been worked in as an ornament, as in the gateway the niches—which relieve the eastern face—are ornamented with bands, in one of which, not 12 feet long, may be counted seven distinct patterns.

Within the walls all is now desolation, and despite the lovely view, rich in the

¹ The practice of covering brick-work with raised ornamentation in green glazed tiles was introduced into India from Kāshān, a town in Irān; hence the word *kāshāni* or *kāshi* means also green colour.

JABALPUR EAST GATE OR PORT





charms of wood and water, unrivalled in the plains of India, a visit to it affords little pleasure. The destruction of the towers on the southern face and of that pretty building on the south-west—the Chahal Sítān, the last habitable of Ibrâhim's works—is to be lamented chiefly indeed as ruining the external beauty; but within no traces are left of the garden, and the rank jangal grass and that shrub whose lustrous copper-coloured leaves seem always evidence of long and utter neglect, suggest a strong desire that, if the rich local funds of the city can do nothing for the fort to which it and they owed their greatness, the despairing proposal of Khair-ad-din might be approved, and the area be made over to market-gardeners whose cultivation would at all events keep it clean. Not less conspicuous for the surrounding desolation are Ibrâhim's spacious baths, still apparently capable of easy repair, and the masjid which served as a cathedral till the completion of the noble Atala.

The masjid of Ibrâhim Nâib Bârbak measures externally 130 feet by 22, and is divided into three chambers by two lateral walls. The central one measures 37' 5" by 14' 10", and is roofed by three low-plastered domes of the Bengali type. The room on each side is 40' 1" by 18' 10", and is 8' 2" in height, and each is divided into five bays in depth and two in breadth. The outer row of pillars is double, of various designs, and no two columns measure exactly the same. From the back and two side enclosing walls pilasters project, ranging with the columns, but none are attached to the north and south sides of the lateral walls forming the central chamber as indicated on General Cunningham's plan.¹ The west wall is recessed between the bays, and the recess or *mîhrâb* in the fourth bay in the southern arcade is emphasized by angle colonnettes, as is also the middle one in the central apartment.

The columns of which the arcades are composed are without bases and vary in design, and it is evident they have been wrought into a façade for which they were never intended. They have been set up at random; capitals inserted upside down, and bases used as caps. Some are octagonal, some square, others octagonal below, sixteen-sided in the middle and round above. One shaft on the north enclosing-wall is somewhat peculiar, being hexagonal in form and wrought on each face through its length, with a chevron design. Most of the shafts are divided into two parts by broad bands, some octagonal, some square, and others circular and moulded. The capitals also vary in design and are double, the upper consisting of a bracket sur-capital which supports the architraves upon which the flat slabs of stone forming the ceiling rest. There is nothing interesting in the external façade, which is of cement.

The central apartment is elevated somewhat and measures 24' 0" in height, and stands 2' 6" above the arched entrances on each side leading to the central and domed area which rises some 7' 6" over the low arcades on each side. On each side of the central arch has been introduced a tapered octagonal stone of which the shaft is 36 feet high and moulded at the top.

The spandrels over the arch are plain with the exception of a small *patera* in the centre of each. The frieze is divided into three flat panels and is surmounted by a plain projecting cornice and embattled parapet. The plastered vaults and shallow ornamentation of the middle chamber raise a suspicion that it is not as its founder left it. The western range of pillars is closed by a plastered brick wall with niches. The pillars

¹ Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XI, Plate XXXI.

have certainly, the flat roofs probably, been taken from some Buddhist or Hindû temple, possibly from some of those at Zafarâbâd, which supplied most of the materials of the fort.

The following Arabic inscription, No. VII, is over the *mîhrâb* of the central hall. The characters are plain Arabic ones and well preserved.

خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا وَيَكْفُرُ عَنْهُمْ شَيْأَتِهِمْ وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ فُزُراً عَظِيمًا وَيُعَذِّبُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ
وَالْمُشْرِكِينَ وَالْمُشْرِكَاتِ الطَّالِبِينَ بِاللَّهِ ظَبِيرًا

"(*The righteous*) ever live in Paradise; their evil doings are obliterated, and they are endowed with the best gift of God; and the wavering-minded individuals and polytheists who doubt the existence of God, are subjected to torments and punishment." [Qurân, Sûrah Fâtiha.]

About 27 feet in front of the middle of the southern wing stands the Lât, or *minâr*, apparently wholly unaltered from the date of its erection, the Arabic inscription on which assigns the building of the masjid to Ibrâhim Nâib Bârbak. Its octagonal base rises in five steps to the height of some 4 feet 6 inches; the upper face of this base gives little room for anything but one pillar, which is first square, then octagonal, then round, rising with its upper capital some 10 feet from the terrace of the masjid on which it stands.

The inscription Nb. VIII¹ runs in six lines round the upper half of the octagonal section; lines 2, 3, and 5 are partly defaced. The inscription is written in Arabic and in very fine Tughra characters. The *tacuwa* are filled up in brackets with the readings given by Khair-ad-din in his *Jâmi' al-pândimâh*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنَّ يَقْتَرِ مَسْاجِدَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَئْمَانَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْغَيْرِ وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
شَفَاعَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَنَلَمْ مَنْ بَلَى مَسْجِدَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَلَّهُ كَبِيرٌ
مَبْلَغَةٌ وَمَحْمَدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَمَبْلَغَةٌ
سُلْطَانُ سُلْطَانِيْنِ عَالِمٌ عَادِلٌ بَارِزٌ شَهِيزَارٌ أَعْظَمُ مَالِكٍ
وَقَابِ الْأَمَمِ مَوْلَى مَلِكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعِجمِ مَظْهِرِ حَكْمَتِ اللَّهِ الْعَالِيَّةِ تَعَصَّلَ
أَنْخَاطِ بِلَادِ اللَّهِ قَدْرَ الْأَمْمِ وَالْأَقْمَانِ لَاهِلِ إِيمَانِ وَارِثِ مَلِكِ سُلْطَانِ عَالِمِ أَبُو النَّاظِرِ فَيَوْزُورُ شَاهَ
الْمُسْلِمَانَ خَلَدَ اللَّهِ مُكْتَهَ وَسُلْطَنَتَهُ وَبَزَمَانِ مَلِكِ مُلُوكِ الشَّرْقِ وَالْغَربِ سُلْطَانِ السُّلَطَانِيْنِ نَامِرِ الْغَزَّةِ
الْمُرْجِيْدِيْنِ مُحَمَّدَةِ الْأَمَمِ عِدَّةِ الْأَيَّامِ بِسَيِّكَشِ زَمَانَ الْعَجَ افْعَظَمُ نَابِ سُلْطَانَ يَدِيمِ اللَّهِ مُعَالِيَهِ بِشَرْفِ كَارِ
قَرْمَاتِيِّ ابْنِ عَالِيَّمَقَامِ مُشْرِفِ كَشْتِ ابْنِ مَلِكِ تِيكُو بِيَرْتِ صَافِيِّ إِعْتَدَادِ بَاتِمَامِ بَنَاءِ خَيْرِ جَهَدِ تَمَامِ فَرْمَونِ
بَنَاءِ دُوَّرِ التَّعَدَّدِ مُعَظَّمِ وَبَسَالِ هَبْرِيِّ تَبَرِّيِّ تَمَانَهُ وَسَبِيعَنِ وَسَبِعَمايَتِه

¹ This inscription was first published by the late Dr. Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for January 1875. Some portions of the second line have been omitted by him, as probably the rubbings sent to him by General Cunningham were defective.

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. 'Surely, he will build the masjids of God, who believes in God and the last day.' [Qurán.] And the Prophet—blessings upon him!—says: 'He who builds a masjid for God, will receive from God (*a house in Paradise in lieu of every stone and beam used in the masjid.*' So, according to the holy script and the word of the Prophet, peace upon him, which refers to the erection of masjids, in hope of going to Paradise and gaining salvation, the erection of this masjid in the jort was ordered by) the mighty, the high, the king of the kings of the world, the just, the generous, and great ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who professes the exalted creed and seizes the firm handle (*of the sword*), who watches over God's faith, protects God's lands and defends God's servants, who gives the faithful peace and security, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon (*strengthened by the grace of God*), Abú Muzaffar Firuz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—and in the time of the Malik of the Maliks of the East and of China, the king of the kings, the helper of the warring monotheists, the excellent Imám, the hope of the age, the general of the present time (*the best noble*), the great Ulugh Ibráhim Náib Bárbañ, the king,—may God continue to him his high position!—(*this building*) received the distinction of being erected, and this prince, whose walk of life is good, and whose faith is pure, exerted himself to the utmost to finish this religious edifice in the exalted month Zil Qa'dah and in the year 778 of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom rest God's blessings." [1870.] مسجد، ۱۳۷۷ هـ.

Khair-ad-din has given the date A.H. 798, reading *tisáin* (90) instead of *sabáin* (70). The month Zil Qa'dah seems to have been a favourite with the Jaunpur rulers, as it is recorded with care that the dedication of the Atala masjid took place in the same month. Ibráhim Náib Bárbañ is stated by Zia-ad-din Barní to have been Firuz Sháh's brother,—see *Shams-i-Siraj Afif*.

Outside the fine gateway, built by Khán Khánán Mu'nim Khán, stands a monolith opposite the kotwál's house, on which the following Persian inscription (No. IX) is recorded. The Lat is 6' high and rests on a round base 2' 5" high; the inscribed space measures 2' 8" by 4'; the inscription consists of seventeen lines of Persian prose:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وجه یرمیده سادات بینوا و غیره غربا
 اپه بر آمدنی سایر جریبور مقر است
 همینه میماند هرگز که شاکم و کوتول و نقصدار
 جاری از حضور شده بشد
 وجه یرمیده آنرا مرواق مجرای حضور
 میداده باشد تاکم یا زیاده نشود و طمعی چیزی
 در مذکور بودیا در اقربا ر دارث و خوبشان
 نیز دهد آنرا قسم خدا و رسول ملی الله علیه و
 پنجتن پاک و درازده امام و درازده معصوم است
 و اگر سُنی باشد ارزها قسم زیارات است

و هندر را قسم رام و گنلچی است
و اگر باین طلاق باز گردد به لعنت خدا و رسول
گرفتار گردد پیش الله تعالیٰ بروز قیامت
رو میاد شده سر گروه در زخیان باشد
مرقم هشتم ربیع اول سنه ۱۱۸۰ هجری
باني این کار خیر سید علی منیر خان بهادر

1. In the name of God, the merciful, the clement.
2. The daily stipend to helpless Sa'ids and other poor persons,
3. Which is fixed upon the revenue of Jaunpúr, may continue.
4. Every governor, kotwál, district officer and commander of forces,
5. Appointed by His Majesty [*Asaf-ad-daula, of Oudh*],
6. May pay their daily stipend according to the rate prescribed by His Majesty,
7. So that it should be not more or less. Should any covet a part
8. Of the said stipend or hand over to his relatives, heirs, or inmates,
9. He is prohibited by God, Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him !
10. By the five pious beings, twelve imáms, and twelve innocents;
11. And if he be a Sunni, he is prohibited by the eminent saints,
12. And a Hindú, upon Ráma and Gaṅgá.
13. If any disregard this oath, may he suffer the imprecation of God and Prophet,
may the blessings of God be upon him !
14. And in the presence of God at the resurrection,
15. Forego the hellish individuals in disgrace.
16. Written on the 5th Rebi-ai-awwal 1180 Hijra. [A.D. 1766.]
17. Sa'íd 'Alí Múnir Khán Bahádur is the beginner of this good deed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ATALA MASJID.

But the Fort Masjid of Ibrâhim Nâib Bârbak, the earliest building, is not to be reckoned among the chief attractions of Jaunpûr, those noble masjids, unique in style and unrivalled in grandeur by such as depend, for their beauty, only on elegance of design and elaboration of material and not on the facile glory of rare marbles and bright enamels.

An extract from Mr. Fergusson's description of the Atala masjid¹ will give an idea of the general features of the Jaunpûr style. "It consists," he says, "of a courtyard, on the western side of which is situated a range of buildings, the central one covered by a dome, in front of which stands a gate-pyramid or propylon of almost Egyptian manner and outline. This gate-pyramid by its elevation supplied the place of a minaret which none of these masjids possess. The three sides of the courtyard were surrounded by colonnades, on each face was a handsome gateway. These Jaunpûr examples are well worthy of illustration and in themselves possess a simplicity and grandeur not often met with in this style. An appearance of strength, moreover, is imparted to them by their sloping walls."

This extract will show that the special characteristics of the Jaunpûr style is the lofty propylon with sloping walls hiding a single dome (see Plate III); and it would be well to have some idea of the causes which led at this place to the adoption of this plan, so original, so quickly perfected and hardly imitated elsewhere. Did we know, as we can never hope to know, which was called forth first, the dome or propylon, we should be able to guess the object each was to answer. For, while the dome is undoubtedly the most imposing covering for a single chamber, it seems, at least when seen from without, to overpower a room whose walls are not proportionally lofty; and it is hard to fancy how the effect of any building could be pleasing where a dome covered the centre of a simple oblong. If, then, for the sake of an imposing internal roof to a central chamber, the founder wished to build a dome, and if with his desire to utilise material existing in abundance at hand, he was somewhat cramped in his choice of the height of his building, no great ingenuity would be wanted to make him think of proportionally elevating the central portion of his façade, turning his minarets, if he had planned any, into abutments, and filling the intervening arch with a rich screen which should hide the dome. This seems the true theory. For the idea of the dome must surely have come first. The bold façade standing alone can have been satisfactory only when viewed from directly in front; from every other point it would have seemed purposeless, from behind worse than purposeless. Yet, though it had been possible to view it only in the most advantageous way, from the direct front, few would dream of building a façade 75 feet high and 55 feet wide at the base. And so we would claim for the

¹ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 522-524.

Pathān architects of Jaunpūr the honour of being the first in India to make domes and their adjuncts an imposing part of a range of buildings.

The plan of the Atala masjid confirms this theory. Here the architect has thought the western wings wanted emphasizing, and has done this by constructing small domes half-way between the centre dome and the cloisters of the north and south sides of the court; but though these domes are certainly not so large as to seem to crush the substructure, he has hidden each behind a proportionate propylon. But the Zafarābād masjid seems at first sight to make against the theory; for while it certainly never had a dome, it has had a large arch between two piers giving a façade as lofty as that of the Atala. But the cases are not at all similar: first, in the arch at Zafarābād the substructure is stone to above the level of the roof, and the arch has been of stone, but the upper half of the piers is of brick. Again, the façade of the Jaunpūr style has the arch closed with a pierced screen; the little remains of the spring of the Zafarābād arch do not seem to have any traces of the inner or recessed arch which framed the screen; and if it ever had this inner arch and screen, it alone of all has lost it.

These masjids are constructed entirely of stone, mortar, and concrete. The walls are of ashlar masonry, set with fine and well wrought joints. Internally throughout, the columns, roofs and domes are of stone, whilst the exterior of the domes and roofs, parapets and floors is floated with cement. The roof over the cloisters and the chambers on either side of the great dome and principal propylon are formed of flat slabs of stone running at right angles to horizontal architraves, themselves supported by bracket corbels springing from the capitals of square pillars.

The plates, XL and XLI, giving different masons' marks,¹ found on the columns and stone ashlarings of the buildings, sufficiently show that the materials were brought from Hindū and Buddhist temples in the neighbourhood and that Hindūs were the workmen.

First in order comes the Atala masjid, one of the earliest specimens of the Jaunpūr style. In point of size, it stands about midway between the Jāmi and Lāl Darwiza masjids. In the beginning of 1860, the fall of the outer arch had reduced the square and noble façade to a rich screen flanked by two ruinous pinnacles; but it has now been completely 'restored' at the cost of Munshi Hāidar Husain of Jaunpūr. It was built on the site of an ancient temple of Ataladevi said by Khair-ad-din to have been erected, but more probably only further appropriated, in Samvat 1416 (A.D. 1358), by Rājā Jayachandra II. of Zafarābād for the reception of his favourite image, and how largely it is indebted to its predecessor may be judged from the extract from Mr. Fergusson given below. This temple caught Firuz's eye when he was building his Fort, but his attempt to destroy it was so violently opposed by the Hindūs of the neighbourhood, that after much bloodshed, he was compelled to enter into a written compact which bound him and his successors to leave other temples untouched and not further to injure this, though closing it to Hindū rites. To this compact produced before him, Ibrāhim paid small attention, filling with consternation those who had trusted to it, by a very plain statement that the propriety of making agreements and the propriety of keeping them when made, varied with the power of the parties. Yet he is said to have spared the gate of Ataladevi, only hewing away the Hindū carvings: there is now no trace of such a building.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 302-305, vol. VII, pp. 295-298; *The Builder* of the 26th June 1869, Plate I, Nos. 1-6.

Brief as Mr. Fergusson's description is, we shall do well to quote it: "Of the three masjids remaining at Jaunpur," he says, "the Atala masjid is the most ornate and most beautiful. The colonnades surrounding its court are four aisles in depth, the outer columns of which are double square pillars, as are also those adjoining the interior of the court. The three intermediate rows are single square columns. This is altogether so like an Indian arrangement that I at one time was half inclined to agree with Baron Hügel and fancy that this was really an old Buddhist monastery. Its gateways, however, which are purely Saracenic, are the principal ornaments of the outer court, and the western face is adorned by three propylons similar to that of the Lal Darwaza, but richer and more beautiful, while its interior domes and roofs are superior to any other specimen of Muhammadan art I am acquainted with of so early an age."

The number of the colonnade aisles, however, is five instead of four; but in this passage we find raised the most interesting of the questions concerning the antiquities of Jaunpur, *viz.*, how much of this building is really Ibrâhim's work. On the strength of the Saracenic gates and the true masjid, Mr. Fergusson assigns all to that prince, while he understands Baron Hügel, on the strength of the plan of the colonnades, to assign all to the older rulers of the subject country. But we have historical evidence that a demolition and desecration begun by Firuz Shâh was carried much further by Ibrâhim, and therefore the whole of the existing building is certainly not Bauddha work. Indeed, there is little evidence that they ever built domes anywhere, and the abundant use of what is popularly called Buddhist ornament may be accounted for by the fact that the materials of older buildings were largely used, that the workmen employed were doubtless natives of the country,¹ and that the new comers, possessing no national style of ornament, naturally have accepted and followed the rich ornament they found. But, on the other hand, there was no reason why Ibrâhim should throw down more than either he considered as defiled by the rites he was supplanting or which stood in the way of any new arrangement. And Bauddha and early Hindû architecture lends itself freely to partial demolitions and reconstructions. Made up of isolated portions, using arches, which if beautiful are also the most destructive of all structural expedients, it allows of the fall, without risk to other portions, of any piece of roofing or even of single pillars. Ibrâhim might therefore have demolished any side or part of a side of the court and joined his new work on to the old without fear of any destructive "set." Notwithstanding this, however, it must be granted from an examination of the structure as it now stands that Mr. Fergusson, rather than Baron Hügel, is correct, and that no part of the Buddhist cloisters were left untouched by Ibrâhim, when he replaced the *cella* by his splendid masjid, built the gateways that now so much ornament the otherwise bare enclosure, which he at least reconstructed.

The archways over the transoms of the small doorways leading from the lower to the upper cloisters are mostly filled in with stone trellis-work, and there remains evidence that at one time the ends of the upper cloisters were also closed by stone lattice screens.

Black marble has been largely used in the decoration of the interior of the grand dome, principally of the arches, mihrâbs, architraves, &c., &c.

Formerly the pointed window openings in the screen gable wall of the great arch

¹ See inscriptions Nos. XIII and XV.

of the propylon were filled in with trellis-work which, much to its detriment, has been omitted in the recent restoration.

THE PLATES.

The drawing (Plate IV)¹ shows that the ground plan of the building consists of a quadrangle surrounded on the north, south, and east sides by cloisters two storeys high, with the masjid itself on the west.

The masjid with its principal propylon, which is highly decorated (Plates III and VII) and supported on either side by a similar but smaller one, forms the most prominent feature of the building. It is divided into five compartments: a central room at the back of the principal propylon, an oblong room of one storey 62' 0" by 28' 8" on either side, and two low rooms in two storeys in each corner. Originally these were separated from the rest of the building by stone screen-work of which portions still exist.² Access to these chambers is gained by private doors in the external walls. They were used as *zānā* chapels. The ceilings over the upper floor are divided into panels which are richly carved, formed by stone beams crossing at right angles from column to column. The external walls on the south and north sides respectively are pierced with window openings filled in with stone trellis-work. The west walls are divided into bays by projecting square pilasters in the centre of which recesses or niches are inserted.

The planning of the central room is somewhat peculiar, and although oblong in form it is roofed by a hemispherical dome. It measures 29' 6" in width by 35' 0" in length. On studying the construction of the dome it is found that the difference in the dimensions is rectified by large projecting corbels from the four piers in the side walls, and from the corners, so as to make the portion to be roofed by the dome a square (Plates IV and IX). The angles of the square are cut off in the usual way and an octagon formed, which in its turn is developed into a sixteen-sided figure, and upon this the cupola of the dome is carried. The interior of the dome is constructed of stone, whilst the outside is of cement only.

In the room behind each smaller propylon, there is a hexagonal opening covered by a dome.

The courtyard is gained by massive entrance gateways of stone (Plates IV, VI, XIV, and XV) in the centre of the north, south, and east façades. On either side of each of these entrances is a stone staircase leading to the upper cloisters. In front of the north and south entrances on the courtyard side there is an octagonal room in the cloisters one storey high and roofed by a dome. The pillars are formed by placing two Hindu shafts one above the other to gain the requisite height (Plate XIX, fig. 1). The domes are panelled on the inside and enriched both externally and internally by decorated cornices.

The cloisters on the ground-floor are three aisles in depth. Around the outside of cloisters is a row of rooms and beyond them a veranda carried on coupled square columns. The portion of the courtyard in front of the masjid is paved with stone and forms the praying-ground.

¹ The following paragraphs to the end of this chapter are chiefly written by Mr. E. W. Smith.—J. R.
² Section through small propylon and Plate IV, fig. 1.

The upper plan (Plate V) differs somewhat from the lower. The space occupied by the rooms in front of the cloisters and the veranda beyond is roofed over and the whole breadth divided into five open aisles by columns of which the two outer lines are square and coupled, whilst the four inner rows are in some cases octagonal and in others round. The columns on the lower floor are all square and those on the outer rows are coupled. The roof over the masjid is shown on this plan. This has been done to mark the distinction between it and the *zauāna* courts, which are two storeys in height. The plan of the domes at the back of the smaller propylons is also indicated. Corridors surround the grand dome on the east, north and south sides, and staircases lead to the top of the propylon in front. The corridors are divided into bays, four of which, two on the south and two on the north side, are domed, whilst the remaining have flat decorated roofs. From the *zauāna* court on the south-west angle of the building a staircase leads to the roof, where the top of it is surmounted by a small dome.

The drawing (Plate VI, figure 1) shows the difference between the entrances on the north and south sides and that on the east. To the rear of those entrances is a dome, but not so at the rear of this. The manner in which the domes are supported is shown and the steps leading to the top of the gateway. On each side of the south entrance is a staircase leading to the upper cloister. The screen-work enclosing the *zauāna* court is shown in the distance at the end of the chamber behind the dome. This and the other gateways closely resemble in outline the propylon of the masjid, but they are of no great elevation,—see for instance Plates VI and XV. Khair-ad-din having forcibly lamented the violence of Sikandar Lodi, and especially his destruction of the eastern gate of *every* masjid, one feels some surprise at seeing it here only slightly injured by time (see Plate XV). Over every gate is a large slab which ~~has~~^{is} borne a Persian inscription; on *this* gate the slab has been replaced by a new one: on the southern and northern gates the bars around the different lines may be traced, but few characters of the inscription are legible; one preserved, however, in the *Ahdāt Jaunpur wāh Sultan Hindūstān* and thence extracted in Khair-ad-din's *Jaunpūrnāmāh*, gives the date of the completion of the masjid—Zil Qa'dah A.H. 821=A.D. 1418,—but mentions among Ibrāhim's titles his youthful office of *Nāib 'Atabuk 'Azim'*. As will be stated hereafter, Firuz Shāh appropriated the temple of Ataladevī in A.D. 1376, and Ibrāhim finished the masjid in A.D. 1408. See inscriptions X, XIII-XVIII.

Plate VI, Fig. 2, illustrates the northern façade. In the centre is the gateway or entrance to the courtyard or piazza (for detail see Plate XIV). The cloisters, both upper and lower, with the veranda in front of the lower rooms (originally used as shops), are ranged on either hand. A side view of the eastern entrance, also of the principal propylon, is shown with the grand dome behind. The *zauāna* court appears on the left-hand side. The private entrance referred to above, in connection with Plate IV and the trellis-work in the window openings on each side of it, are indicated. The upper portion has been lately "restored" in cement, but unfortunately without regard to the architecture of the other portion of the fabric. The opposite court on the south-west angle remains as originally designed, and if it had only been intelligently studied by the conservators, the result might easily have been made far more pleasing than it now is.

¹ I am unable to give the text of this inscription according to the '*Ahdāt Jaunpur*', as it was impossible for me to obtain a loan of the only existing manuscript from Qāzi Khalil, Honorary Magistrate of Jaunpur.

The height of the propylon shown on Plates VI, VII, VIII, is 75' 0", the width across the base is 54' 7", whilst that across the top is only 47' 0", showing a batter in the walls of 3' 9" on either side. Fergusson notes this peculiarity, though on a cursory glance and to the uneducated eye it may not at first sight be observed.

The exterior of the staircase is divided longitudinally by decorated string-courses or label mouldings into six storeys, the second, third, fourth, and fifth of which are embellished with recessed arches or niches enclosed in ornamented architraves. The whole of the centre portion is arched and the upper part of the screen gable wall pierced by openings, originally filled in with screen-work, which in the restoration was unfortunately omitted. In the lower portion are openings leading to the central area of the masjid.

The half section on Plate VII shows the peculiar arrangement of the dome above referred to. The area, it will be observed from the ground plan, is oblong on the floor, and this has to be reduced first to a square by corbelling, and then to an octagon. The octagonal sides of the drum are elaborately treated, and over this is a sixteen-sided section from which springs the cupola divided into enriched panels by projecting ribs of dark or black coloured marble. The interior height of this dome from the floor is 56 feet 2 inches.

As is universally the case, the *mimbar*, or pulpit, stands to the right or north side of the principal *mihrib*.

The section passes through the central arch leading into the north wing; and above it cuts through the arcade surrounding the base of the dome on the north, east, and south sides. The architraves over the openings and recesses, as well as the bands around the arches, and the *mihrabs*, are executed in black slate or coarse marble.

The massive pieces of masonry guarding the entrance to the dome and containing the staircases are 30' 0" apart, the inner walls of course vertical: the batter on the outer and side walls is plainly visible, commencing above the foundation course which rises square some 19' over the level of the praying-ground. The façade stands back 9' 6" from the base of the piers. In 1860 the main arch of the propylon had fallen, and the remaining façade consisted of the doorways with a rich screen above, but it has now been restored to somewhat of its former character. The line which divides this façade on a level with the roof of the cloisters Fergusson calls, after the fashion of Gaur, the *Bādshah-kā-Takht*, or the king's throne,—a term which does not seem to be used here.

The central portion of Plate VIII shows the back of the principal propylon and the exterior of the grand-dome. On either side stand the small propylons with the domes over the masjid in rear, and on the right and left of these appear the domes over the north and south entrances.

The section on Plate IX is drawn through the centre of the chamber under the grand dome and shows the groining and reveal of the window over the principal *mihrāb*, the aperture of which is filled in with stone trellis-work; beyond is given the half elevation of the lower portion of the chamber. The lower openings lead to the oblong arcade on the north side of the masjid; those above open on to the corridor (Plate V) surrounding the dome on three of its sides. At one time they were filled in with stone screens. The system of corbelling devised to reduce the space to be domed over to a square is shown here. The arches are four-centered, slightly stilted and ornamented with cusping on their soffits;

they are supported on angle shafts composed of two turned balusters—top and bottom—and a small panelled octagonal pillar separated by carved dies. The outer face of the arches and architraves is of black marble richly carved. The spandrels are ornamented with lotus rosettes, and those in the upper arches are panelled in addition. The entire chamber forms a most artistic, elaborate, and effective piece of work, the full beauty of which is now unfortunately marred and hidden by the numerous coats of whitewash which have been administered from time to time by ignorant and misguided conservators.

On account of the beauty of the side elevation of the central entrance, a detail of it has been given in Plate X. The lower portion has been executed in stone, whilst nearly the whole of the upper part is of black marble. Highly ornamented stone corbels project to carry the stone lintels bridging the openings. The soffit is of one slab of stone and forms an elaborate piece of carved ceiling-work (see Plate XI). The small columns or balusters to the arched recesses in the side of the entrance are of black marble; a detail of them as well as the bands at A and B is given in figures 2, 3. Portions of this elaborate piece of work are decayed, particularly the backgrounds of the recesses, which were originally carved and of which small fragments are still extant.

The ceiling to the entrance of the masjid under the great dome (Plate XI) has just been referred to. The panels are eight-cornered with intervening crosses and are filled in with small *paterae*. In the centre is a large *patera* in bold relief. The whole is of one piece of stone.

On reference to the ground plan (Plate IV) the position of the principal *mihrāb* (Plate XII) under the great dome will be seen to be exactly in the centre of the main west wall of the masjid, from the face of which it is recessed 4' 4". It is square in plan; the upper portion is domical (Fig. 2) and ribbed. The architrave encasing it and the band around the arch is of black marble and beautifully carved. To the north of the *mihrāb* stands the *mimbār* or pulpit. The whole forms one of the most charming pieces of work to be seen in the building.

In the centre of the tympanum in the arched recess on either side of the principal *mihrāb* under the grand dome is carved a large *patera* (Plate XIII) in three tiers in high relief, and the field around it is embellished by raised carving of a radiating, repeating, arabesque design made up principally of moulded trefoiled zigzags filled in with rosettes and standing on an elaborate and intricate background of tracery studded with stars.

The height of the north gateway given in half elevation in Plate XIV is 34 feet 6 inches from the ground-level, with a base of 41' 7", and a breadth at the top of 38' 0", showing a batter of 1' 10" on each side. It projects 7' 1" in front of the veranda. The same treatment is applied to the entrances on the east and south façades, which resemble more or less the large propylon in front of the masjid proper. The screen wall over the inner arch is panelled, and on the centre the remains of a Persian inscription are to be seen. The southern gateway is similar to this in design, but that on the east side is more ornate.

The front elevation of the north gateway given on Plate VI, Fig. 2, is shown in detail on Plate XIV. The section (Plate XIX, Fig. 1) is through the vestibule leading to the octagonal chamber on the courtyard side which is roofed by a dome. Above the cornice the octagonal form is superseded by one of sixteen sides upon which springs the cupola of the dome. The whole is supported by square pillars one storey in height formed

by placing two Hindû shafts one upon another, the capping of which carries the corbel-ling on which the dome rests.

Of the three entrances to the masjid the eastern one is the largest and most beautiful, and in general design somewhat resembles the propylon in front of the grand dome (see Plates XV and VII). The central portion is considerably recessed and spanned by a four-centred arch of ogee form, and the spandrels over which are panelled and ornamented by *pateræ*. The upper part of the tympanum or gable is pierced by an opening, whilst the lower is divided into panels by bands of exquisitely-carved fretwork. The whole is supported on a massive lintel, chamfered on the top and bottom, which rests on the jambs of the arched entrance to the vestibule leading to the cloister. The heavy masonry on either side of the main archway is broken up by richly-ornamented horizontal string-courses or table-mouldings, and in the storeys thus formed are introduced arched niches or recesses, the backgrounds of which were at one time beautifully carved. The arches of these niches are cusped and supported on angle shafts composed of two small balusters separated by a carved die, and the whole is enclosed by an enriched architrave slightly projecting from the face of the masonry. The top of the gateway is crowned by an elaborate and bold cornice of which a torus moulding is the most prominent member. The entire structure stands on a massive podium or base, laden with mouldings—bold but effective, owing to the play of light and shade caused by the deep undercutting of the members.

Plate XVI illustrates the propylon standing on the south side of the grand dome, that on the north being the counterpart to it. The central portion ranges in a line with the outer row of columns of the masjid proper, and is supported on each side by tower-like structures which are connected by a stilted arch carried on corbels. The screen wall beneath is supported on lintels upheld by heavy corbels; the centre of the upper portion is recessed and pierced by an opening over which is turned a cusped arch supported on small double-baluster shafts. The towers are pierced by openings which lead, like the central entrance, to the oblong chamber beyond. They are surmounted by stilted cusped arches, the inner springing from the top of pretty, slender, twisted and turned shafts. Three feet above the smaller entrances runs a profusely-decorated horizontal string-course dividing the tower into two storeys. The otherwise heavy appearance of the upper storey is overcome by introducing into the lower portion a large square panel, the field of which is carved with a raised geometrical device (Plate XVII), and into the upper an oblong recess filled in at the top with a cusped arch resting on angle shafts similar in design to those in the entrance below.

These panels—illustrated in Plate XVII—in the small propylons on each side of the great dome, stand just above the string-course over the small side entrances of the propylon. The centre portion is set back considerably from the outer face of the panel, and carved on it in relief is a peculiar geometrical device formed by inserting two squares in a circle, and joining the third points in succession of the eight thus formed on the circumference, this produces eight trapeziums which enclose a rosette, the whole being comprised within a square panel with a double ovolo moulding, which in its turn is surrounded by a broad sunk border enriched by a band of continuous floral carving.

The whole of the west interior wall of the masjid is divided by piers into bays, and in the centre of each a *mihrâb* is formed,—those under the domes, especially that under

the grand dome, being larger and of a more elaborate design. Over each is a window extending the whole depth of the wall, and filled in with trellis-work. With the exception of the windows lighting the *zānāna* courts, there are no others in the entire building.

The depth of the *mīhrāb* under the small dome on the south side of the principal propylon (Plate XVIII) is 4' 0" (see also Plate IV and section on Plate VI, Fig. 1). Like those on the north side of the masjid, the central room is domed over, but all the remainder are linteled by stone beams.

The screen illustrated in Plates XIX, figure 2, and XXII, figure 1, is of stone, and stands at the west end of the upper northern cloister. It faces into the passage separating the cloisters from the *zānāna* courts, and is divided into three bays, each of a separate design. A detail of one portion only is shown.

Fig. 1, Plate XX, gives a section through the cloister on the north side of the east gate. The lower storey is divided into three parts,—aisles, rooms used as shops in former times, and a veranda beyond. The upper floor has five aisles in depth and extends over the rooms and veranda below (Plates IV and V). The four inner lines of columns are mostly octagonal, but the outer rows on either side are square and coupled. Those on the ground-floor are all square, and the columns in the outer lines are coupled.

Fig. 2, Plate XX, shows the elevation of the cloister facing the court (for section, see Fig. 1). The columns are all square, and the outer row coupled. The wall at the back of the cloister separating it from the room on the exterior is panelled between the pilasters. These panels or recesses are set back about six inches from the main face of the wall and are arched.

Fig. 3.—Elevation facing the road and showing the openings to the rooms or shops with the veranda in front.

Fig. 5, Plate XX.—Detail of the inner row of columns on the upper floor. The base of the column is square, and upon it stands a shaft, octagonal below, sixteen-sided in the middle, and circular above. The capital is round and supports corbels carrying linterns which pass from column to column and support the roof. Fig. 4 gives a detail of the capital on the single columns in the aisles.

Fig. 1, Plate XXI.—Detail of the capitals over the columns on the upper storey facing the courtyard. The bracket shown only exists in a few instances, but at one time was general.

Fig. 2, Plate XXI, gives a detail of the capitals of the outer line of columns on the upper floor.

Fig. 3 gives a side elevation of the capitals on the square coupled columns on the ground-floor, facing the court.

The only remaining examples of what may possibly have been Buddhist columns in the masjid are shown on Plates XXI. Fig. 4, and XXIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3, and less probably the capitals on Plate XXII, Figs. 2 and 3; and if they are such they tend to prove the theory that at one time a Buddhist temple stood on the spot now occupied by the masjid. But they may quite as well, from anything in their style, have belonged to a Brāhmanical or Jaina temple. In the construction of the cloisters they have been re-used by the Muhammadan architect.

Like the outer drum of the dome the external cornice round the spring of the great dome (Plate XXIV, Fig. 1) is executed in stone, whilst the material employed for the

external coating of the dome itself is cement. It is of a bold and massive design, and although on close inspection the mouldings appear coarse, they are very effective as seen from below. The crowning band encircling the dome is ornamented with pointed arcading and projects $1\frac{1}{2}$ " from the face of the dome. In the centre of each arch is a rosette carved in relief and under it a triangular leaf ornament. The mouldings below this band project $6\frac{1}{2}$ " from the face, and are perfectly plain, with the exception of the lowest member, which is relieved by some projecting floral carving.

Like the drums and cornices of the other domes, the mouldings round the bases of the smaller domes (Plate XXIV, Fig. 2) are of stone, divided into three portions; the upper consisting of plain projecting pointed arcading with carved central rosettes; the middle, of a recessed band broken up by square panels, the angles of which are stepped; and the lower, of a string course made up of an ovolو band and a cyma with fillets below, all of which are uncarved.

Plate XXIV, Fig. 3, is a detail of the band and string-course running round the upper portion of the western exterior of the central room behind the grand propylon (see Plate VI). The band continues around the whole of the western facade and answers the purpose of a cornice. It is of stone, and owing to the deep undercutting and boldness of its members looks remarkably well in execution.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The following nine inscriptions have been found in the Ataladevi masjid; they prove that Firuz Shah commenced the appropriation of the masjid in A.D. 1376, that Ibrahim Shah finished the building in A.D. 1408, and that the masons employed were Hindus.

Inscription No. X is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Ramat*, in six lines, on a loose slab, measuring $1' 2''$ by $8''$, found lying on the maulavi's pulpit (*mimbār*) in the Atala masjid. The stone was thickly covered with the dust of ages, and required a good deal of clearing before the inscription was readable.

شکر مر حق را که عهد مملکت فیروز شاه
 خسروی کامل به رافت اهل ادبانرا مدار
 در زمان شست و پنج و هفتاد لشکری
 غره شوال یکشنبه برقت ساز دار
 هامب خیرات خواجه کامل خان جهان
 کرد این مسجد بنای رفنمای هر دیار

1. Praise be to God! In the reign of Firuz Shah,
2. Who is benevolently the repository of religious men,
3. In the year seven hundred and sixty-five Lshakari,
4. At an auspicious time, on Sunday the first Shawâl,
5. The generous Khwâja Kamâl Khân Jahân,
6. Founded this masjid for the guidance of every country.

By order of the second Khalifa, Mughira led arms against India and conquered her as far as Sindh in the 13th Hijra, which is regarded as the commencement of the

Lashkari era; hence $765 + 13 = 778$ Hijra = 1376 A.D. This date is supported by another inscription, No. XIII, giving Samvat 1433 = A.D. 1376.

Inscription No. XI is written in excellent Tughrā characters on a white marble slab measuring 4' 9" by 1' 2" on the top of the principal *mihrab* in the centre hall (see Plate XII).

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَعْمَلُ مَساجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَنْ أَمْسَأَ بِاللَّهِ رَّزِقَ الْخَرِيقَةِ
وَأَقْمَمَ الصَّلَاةَ وَأَثْبَتَ الزُّكُورَةَ لَمْ يَخْشِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنْ يَكُونُ مِنَ الْمُهَمَّدِينَ وَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسجِيدًا وَلَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَطَاطِةً بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. The Lord God has said: 'Surely he will erect masjids in honour of God who believes in God and the day of resurrection, who performs prayers and bestows charity, and fears none but God. It is hoped that he will rank among the righteous' [Qurān, Sūrah IX], and the Prophet—God bless him!—has said that 'if anybody builds a masjid in honour of God, even like the nest of the *qatāh* (*a bird*), God makes a house for him in Paradise.'"

Inscription No. XII is written in Arabic characters on the right and left side of the oblong parallelogram of the inner arch of the *mihrab*,—see Plate XI.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَرَبِّهِ نَسْتَعِينُ
إِلَهُ إِلَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَرَبِّهِ نَسْتَعِينُ
إِنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْخَيْرُ الْقَيْرَمُ لَا تَخْدُدُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا تَنْعِنُهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ
ذَلِّي يَشْفَعُ عِنْهُ إِلَّا بِذِنِّهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا يَبْتَغِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلَقُهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُنَّ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَبِعَزِيزَةِ
السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ طَرَّا يُرْتَهِ حِفْظُهُمَا وَعَرَاعَلَيْهِ الْعَظِيمُ

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. From Him I solicit protection.

"There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Prophet. From Him I solicit protection.

"God! there is no God but He who is living and self-subsisting. Sleep and slumber do not seize Him. Every earthly and heavenly thing belongs to Him. Who can intercede with Him save His own permission? He knows their present and past and His knowledge does not come within their compass, except what He himself pleases. His throne extends over heaven and earth, and their preservation is not onerous to Him. He is the high, the mighty." [Qurān, Sūrah II.]

Inscription No. XIII is found on a stone near the first niche on the south side of the east gate; the characters are very large and deeply cut.

पटुमान्मूर्चधरो वीसे हजारः ॥ सन्वत् १४३३ ॥

"The mason Patumān, the son of Visaihva, Samvat 1433 = A.D. 1376."

Inscription No. XIV, सम्वत् १४३५ ॥ records the date Samvat 1435 — A.D. 1378 on the third pillar of the fifth aisle, lower storey, north-east side; the whole pillar is adorned with an exquisite band of flowers.

Inscription No. XV is engraved in three lines on the right jamb of the northern door outside.

- [1] सम्वत् १४६४ समये
- [2] सूचधारः पदुमविः
- [3] सर्वसूचधारस्तः ॥

"In the Samvat year 1464 [A.D. 1407], mason Padumavi, son of the mason Sai." General Cunningham's reading *samapt* or *samāpt* is incorrect.

Inscription No. XVI is recorded in two lines on the second square pillar in the lower storey of the south-west cloister.

- [1] सम्वत् १४६४
- [2] बूनो आदी परो ॥

"In Samvat 1464 this building was finished."

Inscription No. XVII is engraved in two lines on the third pillar in the upper storey of the south-west cloister.

- [1] समये
- [2] सम्वत् १४६४ ॥

"In the Samvat year 1464."

Inscription No. XVIII is engraved in two lines on the second pillar in the upper storey of the north-west cloister.

- [1] मङ्गलं महान्योः ॥
- [2] सम्वत् १४६५ चैत्रवदि ५ तुष्टे ॥

"[May] favourable fortune [*and*] great felicity [*attend*]! On Wednesday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight, in the month of Chaitra, in 1465 of the Samvat era," corresponding to Wednesday, the 23rd March 1408 A.D.

CHAPTER V.

KHĀLIS MUKHLIS AND JHANJHRĪ MASJIDS.

A work of the same reign and probably a few years earlier than the Ataladevi masjid is still undamaged, save by loss of any cloisters or gate it may have boasted. This is the masjid Dāriba, Khālis Mukhlis, or Char anguli, built on the site of a favourite temple of Vijayachandra by Malik Khālis and Malik Mukhlis, governors of Jaunpūr under Sultān Ibrāhim, and described in one place as his chief nobles, in another as *chelas* of Flruz, but of whom one was at all events a namesake of the only one of Ibrāhim's brothers, of whom a separate and important command is recorded. Vijayachandra is said to have prefaced his devotions in the temple erected by himself, by bathing in the *Khās hauz*,—an enormous stone tank, three quarters of a mile from his palace, and still to be traced north of the great masjid,—and proceeding thence on foot to the temple. The masjid was erected for the convenience of Sa'īd Usmān, a reputed saint, born at Shiraz, driven from Dehli by the irruption of Timur; his descendants are said to dwell near the masjid which was rescued by Mr. Welland, a former Collector of Jaunpūr, from the desecrating occupancy of the neighbouring Koris. It consists of a domed hall and two wings, the dome masked by a low façade of the character peculiar to Jaunpūr, but there is no ornament to break or relieve the sombre massiveness of the building. The name by which it is most commonly known is Char anguli, given it by reason of a stone in the south pier bearing a line three inches long, which should measure four fingers whosoever be the hand measuring. Much *pūja* is done by Hindus to this miraculous stone, and it is immensely revered by Musalmāns—even if they do not daub it with oil or pay any such outward respect.

Of the remaining building of this age nothing is left but the great piers, flanking a screen of such beauty as to show that the completed building could have been inferior in size only even to the famous Atala, the work of the same founder, and doubtless designed by the same architect (see Plate XXV). Wishing to build a masjid in honour of one Hazrat Sa'īd Sadr Jahān Ajmāli, Ibrāhim demolished the temple which Jayachandra had built at Muktaghāt, and on its site erected this building occupying part of the west side of a large court. Part of the court walls were knocked down by Sikandar Lodī, and the stones appropriated for other public and private buildings, and conspicuously for the great bridge. Floods in the ravine which it overhangs, and in the closely-adjoining Gūmti, long since destroyed its vaults, and the brick enclosing-wall and low poor roof are the work of the last generation. Still, though it is kept clean and in order, the little court is more used for drying grain than as a place of prayer; for, though within the Sipāh mahallāh, it is a quarter of a mile from the city, and its nearest neighbours are the dead Pathāns whose tombs are in Chāchakpūr. It is commonly known as the Jhanjhri masjid, on account of the "screen-like" appearance of its ornamentation; and though very little known is well worthy of a visit, both on account of its past beauty and as showing now completely what in the Jaunpūr style

seems an inner true arch is merely a part of the screen ; for its voussoirs here—all carved with a long raised Arabic inscription (Nos. XIX and XX), the only instance in Jaunpur of such a decoration—are all loose, and but for the support of the pierced screen would fall.

Inscription No. XIX is written in very fine Tughrā characters round the two sides of the arch ; the characters are 1' 4" long.

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ إِلَهٌ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيْمَ لَا تَخْدُهُ سَنَةُ رَلَانِرَمْ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مِنْ ذَاذِي
يَقْعُدُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا يَأْتِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلَفُوهُمْ لَا يُعْلَمُ بَشَرٌ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ
كُوْرِسِيَّةُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ لَا يَرَاهُ حَفَظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ لَا إِكْرَاهٌ فِي الدِّينِ نَهْدَى نَبِيُّنَا الرَّشِيدُ مِنَ الْغَيْرِ
مَنْ يَكْفُرُ بِالظَّاهِرَتِ وَمَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدْ أَسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعَرْزَةِ الرُّوقِيِّ لَا يَنْقُصُهُمْ لَهَا دَالِلَةٌ سَبِيعُ عَلَيْهِمْ

" Allah ! there is no God but He, the living, the self-subsisting. Sleep and slumber do not overcome Him. Every heavenly and earthly thing belongs to Him. Who can intercede with Him except by His own permission ? He knows their present and past, and His knowledge does not come within their compass. His throne extends over heaven and earth, and their preservation is not burdensome to Him. He is the high, the mighty. There is no hatred in the religion ; certainly, guidance has been produced from depravity. He who retrograded from Satan and relied upon God, surely he professed the firm creed which cannot be broken, and God is the hearer and wise." [Qurān, Sūrah II.]

Inscription No. XX is engraved in Tughrā characters on the base of the pointed arch.

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي إِلَهٌ مُنْجِداً يَتَغَيِّرُ يَهُ زَوْجُ اللَّهِ بَنِي إِلَهٌ يَتَبَتَّأُ فِي
الْجَنَّةِ وَقَالَ الرَّسُولُ اللَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي مَسْجِدِ اللَّهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى فِيهِ اللَّهُ
بَنِي إِلَهٌ لَهُ بَيْتٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ

" The Prophet—blessings upon him !—has said that ' who builds a masjid for God in hopes to countenance God, God builds a similar mansion for him in Paradise ; ' and the Prophet of God—blessings upon him !—has said that ' who builds a masjid in honour of God, and God is worshipped thereon, God makes a mansion for him in Paradise.' " [Hadis].

CHAPTER VI.

LĀL DARWĀZA MASJID.

The sole remaining work of Mahmûd's reign is the masjid known as the Lâl Darwâza, so called in memory of the "high gate painted with vermillion" belonging to the palace which Bibî Râjî built at the same time close by. It is the smallest of the masjids at Jaunpûr and stands at some distance to the north-west of the city. The style of the architecture is the same as that of the Jâmi and Atala masjids, but in them the Hindû type is less strongly visible than in this. The main walls are not so thick, and the edifice throughout is on a much lighter and less massive scale.

It is constructed of stone and brick with cement, but principally of stone. Externally as well as internally, all the walls are of ashlar masonry neatly tooled, with fine joints which are so beautifully worked that in thickness they hardly exceed that of the blade of a knife. Unfortunately this does not apply to the portion recently "restored," which is very inferior in every respect to the older work. The bricks used are very small and thin : in some places they run eight or nine courses to the foot, inclusive of joints. They vary in length, some being $4\frac{1}{2}$ and others 3 inches long, and are used principally as a backing to the ashlarining of the walls. Throughout the building the columns and shafts are of stone, and each of those on the outer face of the cloisters fronting the piazza or courtyard is of one piece. The dome, roofs, copings, &c., are floated with cement on their external faces. The courtyard is not paved, differing in this respect from the other masjids, but the paving may have been removed.

The building generally is in a sadly dilapidated state, and should if possible be repaired. Portions have indeed been so treated, but in such bad form that one almost wishes such restoration had not been attempted. Such work should clearly be conducted only by officers who have received a special training in architecture. If a building cannot be restored properly, it is perhaps best left alone, with only just the necessary repairs done to it to prevent its falling altogether.

How this fabric escaped untouched when Sikandar Lodi destroyed the palace, it is hard to say. From the evidence of the stones lying about, which have fallen in the lapse of time, it is evident that the stones of this, like all the other masjids of Jaunpûr, had before been used in Hindû or Buddhist buildings. Churchwardens are the same all the world over, and though at the hours of prayer only a few stragglers push open the heavy gate to enter and pay their devotions, the mellowed stone-work of the masjid was not long ago treated to a liberal coat of whitewash (see Plate XXVII), though the courtyard and cloister roofs were not freed from the rank jangal grass. There is nothing very peculiar about the plan : three gates give access to a large court, with a cloister of one storey only running round, on the west side of which stands the masjid, the wings double the height of the cloister, the dome of the central hall masked as usual by a propylon (see Plate XXVI). The pendentives of the dome and the flat roof of the wings rest immediately on slender pillars, and there is nothing resembling an upper floor anywhere, save that on

each side of the central hall is a raised gallery for women, approached by a stair formed in the piers of the propylon.

The date of erection, or any allusion to the founder, is nowhere inscribed, though in two places within are passages from the *Qurán* (Inscriptions XXI and XXII), and high on the screen without is a black stone bearing the *Kalimah*, or Musalmān confession of faith. On the whole this is the least interesting, though most perfect, of the great Moghal buildings at Jaunpūr.

The general arrangement of the plan (Plate XXVIII) resembles that of the Atala and Jāmi masjids, but on a smaller scale. As it *now* stands it measures 190' 0" from east to west and 171' 0" from north to south, but were the shops extant these dimensions would be increased to 200' 0" and 186' 0" respectively.

On the north, south, and east sides are massive entrance gateways, through which access is gained to courtyard, cloisters, and masjid proper (Plate XXVI), which stands on the western side. The cloisters are only two bays deep, whilst those at the Atala are three. On the external walls of the cloisters are remains of square pilasters, from which we gather that originally a row of shops surrounded the masjid on the north, south, and east sides.

The masjid proper measures 168' 6" by 35' 4" inside dimensions, and is divided into three portions—a central chamber and an oblong room on either side—four aisles in depth, having five openings to the courtyard and two into the north and south cloisters. The central apartment over which stands a dome—the only one in the masjid—is square in plan and measures 22' 7½" each way; in front of it is an entrance hall three bays in width, a feature which does not exist in the other masjids.

In the north-west angle of the courtyard a room has been formed by building lateral walls across the cloisters, but inasmuch as on examining the masonry we found it constituted no part of the original design, it is only dotted in on the plan.

In the entrance gateways on the north, south, and east façades are staircases which at one time afforded access to the roofs over the cloisters and shops. The cloisters are only one storey, high, whilst those of the Atala are two storeys, with the exception of the mezzanine floors introduced on the right and left sides of the central chamber under the dome, and which were doubtless used as *zānāna* courts.

The propylon (Plates XXVI and XXIX), the principal feature of the fabric, is 48' 6" high from the floor of the entrance hall and 41' 9" wide at the base, whilst the breadth across the top is but 43' 0", showing the usual diminution or batter found in other examples of this style of architecture. The towers contain staircases leading to the loft or mezzanine floor and the top of the propylon—whence the hours of prayer were announced, and which thus served the place of minarets.

Their façades are broken up and divided into storeys by means of deep horizontal and highly-decorated string-courses or table-mouldings. In the centre of the second, third, and fourth storeys are introduced ornamented arched recesses or niches, which measure 5' 0" by 3' 0" and are recessed some 1' 6" from the main face of the masonry. The arches are cusped and stand on octagonal shafts; in the tympanum of each is carved a lotus rosette, and below this runs a horizontal band forming an inner panel which is similarly treated, but instead of the rosette the bell ornament is seen hanging from the crown of the arch. In the spandrels of the arches small rosettes are carved.

The top of the propylon is crowned by an elaborate and bold cornice with a frieze, below which the surface is divided into panels filled in with cusped arches and decorated with small rosettes. The space between the bottom of the frieze and the fourth string-course is relieved by a square panel containing a very peculiar geometrical device that resembles a seven-pointed star, enclosing a circle and surrounded by a larger one. The same device is also carved over the principal *mihrāb* under the dome (see Plates XXVII and XXIX, Fig. 1). The great arch between the towers is of a double "ogee" form made up of two portions (one projecting in front of the other) and carried on moulded corbels: it is slightly stilted. The space under the arch is filled in with a stone screen pierced by three openings, the trellis-work of which has disappeared, and through this the exterior of the dome is visible. Over the central opening the *Kalimah* or Musalmān creed is engraved in large letters on black stone. The screen is carried on massive stone lintels which rest on large bracket capitals springing from the heads of the piers of the entrance hall or vestibule that leads to the area under the dome.

In the spandrels above the arch double rosettes are carved.¹ To the right and left of the propylon are the colonnades of the masjid proper. These are one storey in height, with the exception of the first two bays on each side, which have been divided into two low storeys, the upper one having been provided for the ladies of the court, who could thence witness and listen to the religious ceremonies carried on below. All the columns are square, and those forming the outer row are coupled. They are made up of two shafts placed one on the top of the other and surmounted by triple capitals.² The space between the columns is spanned by stone beams upon which the superstructure is carried. The wooden railing round the mezzanine floor or loft forms no part of the original design, but occupies the place of a former elaborate stone screen of which portions still remain on the sides looking into the dome.

The respective positions of dome and propylon are seen in the south elevation, Plate XXIX, Fig. 2. The dome stands considerably back from the rear of the propylon, and in this respect differs from that of the Atala masjid which impinges upon it. This is accounted for by the introduction of the vestibule below, which does not exist in the other masjids. The drum is octagonal, and in each of its sides is placed a trellis window to admit light. Of this the details are given on Plate XXXVII, figs. 1, 2, 3. Over the angles above the string-course are polygonal finials (see Plate XXXVII, Fig. 4), and between these run two broad plainly-ornamented encircling frieze bands (see Plate XL, Fig. 1), from the top of which spring flat ribs dividing the outer surface of the dome into panels. The top of the dome is crowned by an elaborate finial standing on a large inverted shell-like base.

The arched recesses shown on the outer wall of the masjid proper were originally entrances to the colonnade, but in the recent restoration they have been filled in. The southern gateway is a reproduction of that standing on the north side of the courtyard (Plate XXXII). The whole of the façade is in a most deplorable and dilapidated condition, and, but for the two or three piers remaining on either side of this and the east entrance, no one would imagine that shops ever existed on the outer face of the courtyard.

¹ For a general view of the propylon see Plate XXVI.

² For detail see Plate XL, Fig. 2.

The main features of the west façade (Plate XXX, Fig. 1) remind one of the *Atala* and *Jāmi* masjids. It is simple, yet majestic, and the grouping of the masses most effective. Between the flanking turrets or bastions at either end it measures 173' 4", and stands nearly 26' 0" high from the ground-level. The massiveness of the masonry is relieved by the bold horizontal string-courses which, like the plinth, run the entire length of the façade and terminate on the end walls of the masjid proper. The central portion in front of the dome projects from the main wall and is strengthened by pinnacle-capped bastions—counterparts of those standing at the angles of the fabric. The openings on either side light the mezzanine floor (Plate XXXI). At the back of the propylon are the steps leading to its summit. With the exception of the cornice running round the top, none of the elaborate decoration of the front and sides is repeated here.

The central chamber of the masjid proper is square in plan and covered by a dome 22' 8" in diameter which rests on an octagonal frame-work of massive stone lintels stretching from column to column, the angles of which are cut off and a sixteen-sided figure developed upon which the cupola of the dome is supported (see Plate XXX, Fig. 2). The sides forming the drum are panelled, arched, and filled in with stone trellis-work; eight are pierced to admit light to the upper part of the chamber (see Plate XXXVII, Fig. 1). The total height from the floor-level to the crown measures 41' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The only piece of furniture in the entire masjid is the *mimbār* or pulpit which projects from the west wall. Passing through the entrance hall or vestibule we enter the piazza or courtyard and have a full view of the northern cloister. It is a one-storey building, only 8' 4" high to the underside of the lintels and two aisles deep; the columns of the inner row are octagonal and those of the outer row square (see Plate XXXIX). The rear wall is panelled in the centre of each bay, for detail of which see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 4, 5. The section cuts through the eastern gateway and shows the difference in height between the chamber in front and the cloisters on each side. The columns of this chamber—which is oblong in plan—are of one height, square and single, with the exception of the outer row on each side, which are coupled. On each side of the entrance is a staircase leading to the top of the gateway and the roof over the cloister.

On the north and south sides of the dome the only double storey in the entire building has been introduced (Plates XXVIII and XXXI). It was constructed for the use of the ladies of the court for devotional purposes. Access to it is gained by the staircases in the tower of the propylon. The sides looking into the dome and colonnades are filled in with stone trellis-work of a pretty design. The west wall is divided into bays, two of which serve as *mihrābs*, whilst the third is utilized to admit light. The *mihrābs* are recessed 1' 2" from the face of the wall and encased by broad, flat, richly-carved architraves (Fig. 5). At the corners of the recess, angle shafts (Fig. 4) support the arches above, in the spandrels of which are carved small rosettes. In the tympanum beneath, a large rosette is introduced, whilst below the field of the panel is relieved by the bell ornament.

The north gateway (Plate XXXII) and the entrance on the south are the counterparts of each other. In general design they resemble the large propylon, except that they stand on a heavy-panelled plinth. Like the propylon the gateway tapers upwards, measuring across the base 22' 4", but at the top only 21' 0", with a total height of 21' 0", the block forming almost a square and presenting a solid and somewhat massive Doric or

Egyptian-like appearance. The flight of steps leading from the road-level to the court-yard has crumbled away, and portions remain only here and there to indicate its former existence at all.

The heavy appearance of the tower on each side of the entrance is relieved by niches or recesses and ornamental string-courses similar in design to those employed in the decoration of the large propylon. The arch between the towers rests on moulded stone corbels, and the masonry of the tympanum is carried on lintels spanning the entrance. The spandrels over the outer ring of the arch are set back some 4" from the face of the masonry of the towers, and are enriched by a deep bead running round the three sides and by the introduction of large rosettes.

The abrupt termination of the top is perhaps hardly pleasing; a cornice seems wanting; but for some reason the architect did not supply it. It may be thought by some that such originally existed, but this can hardly have been so, as the north and south entrances of the Atala masjid are treated in a similar way.

Of the three entrances to the masjid the eastern or main gateway (Plate XXXIII) is the largest and most important. It stands 30' 0" high from the topmost step of the flight leading up from the road, and measures across the base 25' 4". The sides taper towards the top, which measures only 24' 3". Like the entrances on the north and south sides, it stands on a massive panelled pedestal. The tower on either side is broken up by highly-decorated string-courses and deeply-recessed niches of the same design as those of the north entrance. But the main arch is treated differently, inasmuch as the soffit is cusped and the screen wall under it divided into large panels set in flat and decorated borders, the centre one of which originally contained an inscription, while those on each side and the spandrels of the arch are ornamented with carved rosettes.

The spandrels over the main arch are set back and enriched by diaper work of a plain and effective design, over which runs a floral frieze. The top of the entrance is crowned by a cornice, the principal feature of which is a bold torus moulding supported by a carved corona or band slightly projecting from the face of the wall.

The principal *mihrab* (Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1, 2, 3) is always placed in the centre of the internal face of the west wall of the masjid proper-looking towards Makka. Of all the *mihrabs* in this fabric it is the finest, and standing as it does immediately in front of the principal entrance, is seen directly the chamber under the dome is entered. In plan it is oblong, supported by angle shafts composed of small turned balusters and cable or twisted pillars separated by carved dies, from the tops of which spring ornamented cusped arches. The background is panelled, and carved on the face is the bell ornament. The soffit of the *mihrab* is domed over and divided into panels by moulded ribs. The spandrels over the outer arch are panelled and ornamented with *paterae*. The whole is encased by a flat architrave projecting slightly from the wall. In the Atala masjid this is beautifully carved, but not so here.

Plate XXXIV, Fig. 4, shows the system of panelling prevalent in the cloister walls of this and the other masjids at Jaunpur. In this example they are recessed some 8" from the face of the wall, and each measures 6' 6" high by 2' 9" broad. They are divided into three compartments by horizontal bands in continuation of the masonry courses, the topmost being arched over and the spandril above panelled.

Fig. 5 is a cross section through the cloisters which surround the piazza or courtyard

on the north, south, and east sides. These are two aisles in depth and contain two rows of columns, the outer of which is square and the inner octagonal. The roof is constructed of stone and brick with cement on the usual Indian principles. Stone beams cross from cap to cap of the columns, and upon the square frame-work thus formed other beams of the same material run at right angles over which the intervening space is filled in. Upon this is placed concrete and the whole floated over with a thick coat of cement.

On reference to the ground plan (Plate XXVIII and elevation on Plate XXIX, Fig. 1) the positions of the recesses shown in Plate XXXV will be seen. In plan they are square and set back 1' 4" from the main face of the wall. The backs are panelled, arched, and decorated with the usual bell and *patera*. At the inner angles stand shafts made up of small turned balusters and ornamented dies. Over the front of each is turned a cusped arch the spandrels of which are panelled and carved with rosettes.

These small panels (Plate XXXVI), 1' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", stand immediately over the recesses referred to on Plate XXXV. They are slightly sunk from the face of the wall, and are of the same design as the inner panels of the *mihrabs* below.

In Plate XXXVII, Figs. 1, 2, and 3, are given a detail of the windows which pierce the drum of the dome. In plan they are square with deep reveals. The inner openings are filled in with stone trellis-work of a varied design—a characteristic of this style of architecture.

The finials on the exterior of the dome (Plate XXXVII, Fig. 4) stand at the angles of the octagon forming the drum. In design they resemble some of the columns in the cloisters below. The lower portion is octagonal, the centre sixteen-sided, and the upper round and surmounted by a cap.

Plate XXXVII, Fig. 5, gives a detail of the cornice round the interior of the dome over the large pier supporting the drum.

The panel over the principal *mihrāb* under the dome (Plate XXXVIII) is square, 2' 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 2' 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", and projects slightly from the face of the wall. The design, which is peculiar, is likewise introduced in the upper part of the propylon (see Plates XXVI and XXIX, Fig. 1). The centre is slightly concave and surrounded by a plain, flat, circular band: around this is a heptagonal figure, the seven sides of which form bases for as many triangles of white stone standing on a black ground and encompassed by a circle resting on a square. The whole is set in a frame, the sides of which are ornamented by a continuous, repeating, floral scroll.

Plate XXXIX, Fig. 1, represents one of the inner row of columns of the cloister on the south side. The lower portion of the column is octagonal, the central sixteen-sided, and the upper cylindrical, tapered and fluted at the top. The cap is round and slightly moulded at the top and bottom.

Fig. 2 is an example of the outer row of piers to the cloisters, and which throughout the masjid are square. It is most crude, and were it not for the moulded caps and bracket corbels or sur-capital supporting the stone beams above, would savour little of architectural treatment.

Figs. 3 and 4 are examples of some of the older columns standing in the west cloister. Fig. 3 is somewhat similar to Fig. 1, but differs in these respects: the rounded cap is converted into one of sixteen sides; the cylindrical portion of the shaft is neither so long nor tapered nor fluted, but is broken up by a slightly projecting octagonal band;

and the lower octagonal portion is made longer. Fig. 4 is brought within the domain of architecture by cutting off the angles a foot below the neck, and enriching with lotus ornamentation, &c., &c., four out of the eight sides thus formed. A detail of one side is given in fig. 5. The base of the shaft is also profusely carved, but in a rather inferior style.

The whole of the bases, columns, caps and bracket capitals are of stone, each of the shafts being in one solid piece.

All the above are typical of Indian architecture and tend to support the theory that both this and the other masjids at Jaunpur are largely constructed of materials which originally formed part of Buddhist or Hindū temples destroyed by the Muhammadians and afterwards used by them in the erection of their masjids.

From the top of the band to the underside of the string-course round the exterior of the dome (Plate XL, fig. 1) measures 5' 2", out of which the string itself is only 9" deep. It projects from the face of the wall $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and is made up of plain chamfered mouldings. The lower band springs from the top of the string-course and stands some $7\frac{3}{4}$ " in advance of the upper one. The tops of both are embattled and incised by deeply cut crosses. The angles of the dome are emphasized by finials of similar design to the columns in the cloisters below. The caps remain on a few only (Plate XXX, fig. 1), most of them having been destroyed by time.

The capitals surmounting the shafts forming the one-storied colonnade on each side of the dome in the masjid (Plate XXIX, fig. 1, and detail of Plate XL, fig. 2) are made up of three distinct and separate parts, a lower, middle, and upper, the combined height being 3' 9." The lower is of one piece of stone, and is plainly moulded. The abacus is chamfered at the top, and the face ornamented with raised floral carving. The cymatium is composed of two broad fillets, from the upper of which hang pointed facets, the lower is chamfered and projects slightly over the neck which is composed of three narrow bands below which projects a double splayed necking supported on the underside by two small overlapping fillets. The middle consists of four bell corbels, one on each of the sides of the pier, with hooded facet caps and broad bands over, upon which stand the large bracket capitals supporting the architraves or stone beams that carry the roof above.

The shaft is made up of two pieces of stone connected by a broad projecting band, bevelled at the top, and roughly moulded at the bottom. The bases to this and all the other columns throughout the masjid proper are perfectly plain.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The following inscriptions have been found in the Lal Darwaza Masjid.

Inscription No. XXI is written in Arabic characters on the top of the outer frame of the central mihrāb.

قَرَأَ اللَّهُ وَمَلَائِكَتُهُ يُصَلِّيُنَّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوْا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا كَثِيرًا

"God has said:—'Surely, God and His angels bless the Prophet; ye believers bless Him, and offer peace and benediction.' " [Qurān.]

Inscription No. XXII is written in fine Tughrā characters on the two sides of the inner pointed arch.

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيْمَنُ لَنَا حَمْدٌ لَّا نَنْعَلُ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَلِكَ الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ إِلَّا يُعْلَمُ بِشَيْءٍ مِّنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ رَبُّ
كُرْبَلَةِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ إِلَّا بِرَبِّكَ حَفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ

"God ! there is no God but He who is living and self-subsisting. Sleep and slumber do not seize Him. Every heavenly and earthly thing belongs to Him. None can intercede with Him save His own permission. He knows their present and past, and His knowledge does not come within their compass except what He pleases. His throne extends over heaven and earth and their preservation is not burdensome to Him. He is the high, the mighty." [Qurān, Sūrah II.]

Inscription No. XXIII is carved on the third pillar of the middle row of the north-east corner of the cloisters. "Samvat 1128," A.D. 1071, is only readable, whilst the few letters of five different lines, still visible on a narrow strip, are too indistinct, the rest of the original flat surface having been cut away to form a round shaft. The original stone is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, as the shaft fell down some years ago, broke, and was replaced by a new square pillar.

Inscription No. XXIV is cut in two lines on the face of the bracket-capital of the fourth square pillar, first row, in the south-east cloister. The two lines are both incomplete on the right hand, owing to the cutting away of three and a half inches of the face to make the old Hindū bracket fit into its new position in the Muhammadan masjid. As both the date and the last letters of the name are in perfect order, it is possible to complete the missing part with absolute certainty. The date of the inscription shows that it belongs to the time of Vijayachandra Dēva of Kanauj; these few letters just occupy three and a half inches of space which was cut away.

[1] संवत् १२२५ चैत्रवदि ५ बुधे श्री [महिजयच-]

[2] न्दुदेवराज्ये भट्टारकश्रीभुविभूषण[णः०]

"In the Samvat year 1225 (A.D. 1168), on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra, on Wednesday,¹ during the reign of the fortunate Vijayachandra Dēva, the venerable Bhuvibhūshana."

The term *bhattāraka* signifies either a *muni* or a Buddhist teacher. Bhuvibhūshana is therefore the name of a Brāhmaṇ or a Buddhist who, in A. D. 1168, paid his devotions at the temple from where the bracket was brought. The *Vijayamandiram*, or the temple of Vijayachandra Dēva, stood in this quarter of the city, and it seems probable that many pillars and stones of the Lal Darwāza masjid were brought from such a convenient quarry.

Inscription No. XXV is recorded in eleven lines on two faces of the fourth octagonal pillar, middle row, of the south-west cloister. It gives a long list of Hindū pilgrims, both males and females, who visited, on Thursday, the first day of the waning moon of Chaitra, in the Samvat year 1297, probably the temple of Vijayachandra Dēva from

¹ Corresponding to Wednesday, the 27th March 1168 A.D.

whence this pillar was brought. The date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st March 1240. On the second face of the octagonal pillar, only a few characters are visible. The names of the pilgrims are written in very large nail-shaped Devanāgari letters.

Inscription No. XXVI is cut in ten lines on two faces of the third octagonal pillar first row, of the north-west cloister. The date Samvat 1353 is, besides, confirmed by the addition of the corresponding year, *Plava*, of the *Brihaspati chakra*, or sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, which by the reckoning used in Northern India was Samvat 1353.

- [1] ओं नमो गणपतये ॥ अयोध्यायां
- [2] पुरा हन्तः सत्ववाक्सुजनप्रियः [१] स-
- [3] देवाधुरिति ख्यातः सर्वसत्वहिते रतः [११]
- [4] तस्य सुचो बभूवाद्य सामुनिधेति विचु-
- [5] तः [१] तस्यामजः शुचिधीरः पद्मसाधुरयं
- [6] भूवि ॥ [२१] काश्चां विज्ञेष्वरदारि हिमादिग्नि
- [7] 'यरोपमम् । पद्मेष्वरस्य देवस्य प्रापाद-
- [8] मकरोत्सुधीः ॥ [३१] ज्वैष्टे मासि सिते पचे
- [9] इदश्चानुष्वासरे [१] लिखितेयं सदा
- [10] याति प्रश्नस्ति: प्रववत्सरे ॥ [४१] संवत् १३५३ [१]

"Om! glory be to Ganeśa! In Ayodhyā¹ lived formerly Sañhesādhu, the speaker of truth, the beloved of good men, whose delight consisted in the welfare of all beings. His son was the famous Sādhunidhi, whose son, Padmasādhu, of steadfast virtue, on the north side of the entrance to the Viśvēśvara temple at Kāśī built a solid and lofty temple of the god Padmēśvara (Vishṇu), on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the waning moon of the month of Jyaishṭha, in the year Plava : Samvat 1353, on which day this eulogy was written."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th May 1296 A.D. This important inscription shows clearly that this very pillar, and undoubtedly many others, were brought from Banāras. Below this inscription is twice recorded "Samvat 1504," or A.D. 1447, which most probably records the date of the erection of the cloisters.

Inscription No. XXVII is recorded on the face of the fifth octagonal pillar, middle row, of the north west cloister.

- [1] विसद्रुसुत [:] कमाँ
- [2] शिल्पो [॥]

"Visadru's son, Kamaū, the architect." This simple record of the architect or head mason Kamaū is the most valuable inscription of the Lal Darwāza, as it is another proof of the truth of Fergusson's remark, that the cause of the admixture of Hindū and Muhammadan styles in the Jaunpur masjids was the employment of Hindū masons.

¹ Read चरीपम् ।

² See ante, p. 2, note 3.

CHAPTER VII.

JÂMI MASJID.

Last among the buildings of Jaunpûr which require description is the splendid masjid of Husain Sharqi—the Jâmi Masjid. Of the reason for its foundation divers accounts are given, and some attribute the design to Ibrâhim, who wished to save an old hermit, Hazrat Khwâja Isa, the voluntary labour of walking barefooted from his dwelling hard by to the Masjid Khâlis Mukhlis, a mile distant, for the Friday prayers. Others say that when during a seven-years' famine Husain found his overseers diverting to their own use the funds and supplies he had granted for the distressed, he devised a labour test, directing that only those should receive anything who laboured in casting up the mound which is now the court-yard of the masjid, and which stands some 16' to 20' above the road-level.

There is possibly truth in both stories. No one attributes any part of the building to Ibrâhim, but some such design may have occurred to him, for all his family lie in a cloistered court of a building close adjoining the north side of the masjid, probably round the grave of this Khwâja Isa, who was certainly buried where he lived; the sanctity which made him a tempting grave-mate was enough to suggest the building a masjid in his honour. The famine, however, may have been invented to account for the raised court-yard, which surely needed no such explanation. Yet, be this as it may, the work must have occupied many years of Husain's reign, though it was not ready for dedication till after his fall. We may wonder that Bahlool allowed his fallen foe to complete and reap the credit of so magnificent a structure, and indeed even that Sikandar, in his rage at Husain's persistent treachery, was content with throwing down the eastern gate and somewhat damaging the cloisters, after vowing that not a stone should be left to record the existence of his rival.

The foundation of the Jâmi masjid was laid in A. H. 842, or A. D. 1438, "but it was not raised above the level of the ground in 844, when the king died," as Khair-ad-din states. It is said that the date of the completion of the masjid was found in the words *masjid Jâmi us sharq*, which were engraved on the front of the eastern gate. This would fix the date in A. H. 852, or 1448 A. D., during the reign of Mahmûd Shâh Sharqi. But Khair-ad-din says that the work was at a standstill during the reign of Mahmûd Shâh, and was finished by Husain Shâh. Accordingly some people say the inscription on the eastern gate was *Al masjid Jâmi us sharq*, which would make the date A. H. 883, or 1478 A. D. Khair-ad-din objects to this date, on the ground that the rule of the Sharqi kings had ceased; but Husain Shah's final defeat and abandonment of Jaunpûr did not take place until 884 A. H., as Khair-ad-din himself states in another place.

On a site sloping slightly southwards is a raised terrace some 16 to 20 feet high on the south, upon which the masjid is erected. The lower portion is almost on a level with the road, and on the north, south, and east sides (Plate XLVI) consists of a low range of small shops, in front of which is a veranda 9' 7" in width, and over them is an upper

cloister. The west side is occupied by the lower portion of the masjid proper (Plates XLVII, LI, and LII). The court-yard (Plate LI, fig. 2) is surrounded on the north, south, and east sides by cloisters two aisles in depth, and now only one storey high, the second having been pulled down by Sikandar Lodi. In each of these sides is a massive domed entrance gateway approached by a steep flight of steps from below (see Plates XLVII, L, LI, and LXXII). The west side is occupied by the masjid proper and measures 59' in depth by 235' in length, including the thickness of the walls, but not the bastions at the angles. It is divided into five areas, a central room, 39' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 39' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and roofed by a dome, a low-pillared room on each side 25' 4" by 41' 7", over which is the *zandna* gallery (Plate XLVIII), and on each side of this again a lofty arched chamber 49' 3" in length by 39' 7" in width. These apartments are all connected by arched openings (see Plate LI, fig. 1).

The entire length of the inner face of the west wall is divided into bays by pilasters, and in the middle of each is a *mihrab* (Plates LI, fig. 1, LIX, and LXI), the central one in each chamber being more ornate than the others.

The *zandna* chapels are reached by staircases inside the piers of the propylons standing in front of the dome. In plan the galleries are oblong and divided into bays, six in length by three in breadth, by square stone columns (Plate LXII, fig. 3), the capitals over which support horizontal architraves dividing the ceiling into a series of panels, most of which are beautifully carved in low relief (Plates LXV and LXVI). The west wall is ornamented with *mihrabs*, the details of which are given on Plates LXIII, and LXIV—the former illustrating that in the south chapel and the latter that in the north one. In plan and general design they are very much alike. The distinguishing feature is the difference between the architraves, the carving on that surrounding the *mihrab* in the south chapel being of a totally different character from that enclosing the *mihrab* in the north one. Again the angles of the architraves in the former are chamfered and ornamented with facets, whereas those of the latter are square and channelled on each side of the field of carving. The inner portion of the *mihrabs* is recessed some 1' 8" from the face of the wall and is arch-panelled and cusped, and from the crown of the arch hangs the lamp ornament. The width across the inner portion of the *mihrab* is 1' 9", whilst across the outer face, between the architraves, it measures 4' 11". The difference in dimensions is made up by inserting a connecting tier of angle shafts composed of small octagonal balusters and ornamented square dies, over the tops of which cusped arches are turned. The spandrils between the architraves and the extrados of the arch are panelled, moulded, and decorated with rosettes. The face of the tympanum of the inner arch is relieved by a boldly carved *patera*.

The section through the court-yard (Plate LI, fig. 2) shows the east entrance, which is in the same dismantled condition as it was left by Sikandar Lodi, and not, as asserted by some, "thrown down by Englishmen in order to repair the station roads." In the centre of the cloisters surrounding the quadrangle on the north and south sides are domed entrance gateways, both of which have recently been repaired. The cloisters are now only one storey in height. The pillars of which they are formed are all square, and most of them plain (Plate LXII, figs. 1,2), and probably were brought from the old Hindû fanes, which at one time existed in the immediate vicinity, as may perhaps be inferred from the mason's marks engraved thereon (Plate XLIII).

The vaulted chamber at the south-west angle of the masjid is given in the transverse section (Plate LI, fig. 1). In length it is 49' 3" and in breadth 39' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It is roofed in stone, and "the vault is so constructed that its upper surface forms the external roof of the building, which in Gothic vaults is scarcely ever the case."¹ In height the chamber is 44' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " to the underside of the ridge. The internal face of the south wall is broken up by arched recesses, window openings, and ornamented string mouldings. The wall is 7' 5" in thickness and contains a staircase leading to the roof of the vaulted apartment, a longitudinal section of which is given on Plate LI, fig. 1. The upper portion of the western wall is quite plain, but the lower part is devoted to *mihrabs*, three in number, and which stand in the centre of the bays formed by piers projecting 1' 6" from the wall, and over which spring the ribs dividing the vault into three casements. The central *mihrāb* is the largest and most important. It is recessed within the wall 3' 5" and enclosed in broad, flat, sunk, and richly-carved architraves. On each side of the opening are angle shafts supporting arches which are cusped, and the spandrels of which are panelled and decorated with rosettes. The soffit of the *mihrāb* is domed and divided into panels by flat projecting ribs of black stone. On each side of the *mihrāb* is a panel 2' 0" by 2' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (Plate LXVIII, Fig. I), the borders of which are richly carved and enclose a moulded inner panel, the upper portion of which is arch-like, and cut in the face of it is a Greek cross. The corresponding panel in the northern vaulted chamber differs somewhat from this (Plate LXVIII, Fig. 2), inasmuch as the outer border is ornamented with a star pattern instead of floral carving. The space under the arch is unadorned, but to make up for it the spandrels are incised with Greek crosses.

The low-pillared apartment separating this chamber from the dome is 13' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high and is divided into bays by square annulated pillars surmounted by bracket capitals carrying stone lintels which support the ceiling and divide it into a series of panels, none of which are ornamented. The west wall is occupied by *mihrabs*.

The central chamber of the masjid proper is square in plan, and is certainly the most imposing and ornate feature of the fabric. The walls on the north, south, and east sides are pierced by arched openings, and the west wall is recessed with elaborate *mihrabs* (Plate LIX). Just above the arched openings the square form of the room changes into that of an octagonal figure, and which is superseded by one of sixteen sides supporting a stone cupola by which the chamber is roofed. In design the apartment resembles that of the Atala Masjid, but of the two that is more chaste and refined in detail. The internal height of the room is 67' 6". According to Kittoe, "the dome is a wonderful piece of workmanship, the exterior shell being many feet apart from that of the interior, and is formed by different segments of circles;" and Major-General Cunningham² informs us there must be some arrangement of this kind, as by his measurement the top of the dome outside is 67' 3", whilst the inside is only 55' 3", shewing a difference of 12 feet, and as this is too much for the top thickness of a single dome, he concludes there are two thin domes, each about 3' 0" in thickness at the top, and thus leaving an empty space of 6 feet in height. But the true height of the dome on the inside is 67' 6" and not 55' 3", and outside the height is 72' 6" to the top of the cap which supports the finial. The thickness of the wall, measured through the window openings

¹ Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 523.

² *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XI, p. 115.

in the drum of the dome also (Plate LI, fig. 1), is 3' 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", not 12' 0", and therefore could hardly support a double dome as above described; while at the vertex, including the cap, the whole thickness is only 5 feet. The diameter of the dome is 39' 5".

The beauty of the chamber impresses one directly it is beheld. Eight out of the sixteen sides in the upper storey—all of which are arched and enclosed in elaborate architraves—are pierced and filled in with baluster-like work, through which the light streams into the cupola, causing a rich play of light and shade over the whole extent of the chamber and produces a most charming picture. The remaining sides are filled in with screen-work, backed with masonry.

The octagonal sides of the drum are arched and the arch soffits cusped. They are enclosed in architraves richly carved, with a strap-work device; the spandrels are panelled, moulded, and ornamented with *pateræ*. The space under the arch is filled in with a pierced stone screen of eight panels (Plate LX) formed by mullions and transoms. The centre panel is open at the top, and in the lower portion is a flat balustrade. Through these screens the ladies of the *zānāna* could witness the religious services conducted below. The *mīhrābs* in the west wall below are three, the central one being the largest and most beautiful (Plate LIX). Between it and that on the north side stands the *mimbār* or pulpit. It is 6' 0" in height and 4' 0" in breadth. The *mīhrāb* measures 10' 8" across from out to out and is recessed in the wall 3' 7". On the external face is a flat architrave surrounding a chamfered jamb standing on a square plinth. On each side of the opening are three angle shafts of ornamented octagonal balusters and carved square dies, and over them cusped arches are turned. The soffit of the recess is canopied and panelled by projecting splayed ribs of black stone. A border of black stone encloses the inner panel, on which are engraved extracts from the *Qurān*. The spandrels over the arches are moulded and ornamented with *pateræ*, and over is a banderolle.

In front of the dome stands a majestic propylon 84' 4" high, in design somewhat similar to that of the Atala Masjid (see Plates XLIII and XLIX). It is larger, however, and more commanding, and constitutes a grand piece of architecture; and, standing as it does on a base raised some sixteen feet above the road-level, it towers over the adjoining buildings and becomes the most conspicuous object in the city. Across the base it measures 76' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", whilst across the top it is only 70' 10", shewing a slope in the walls of 3' 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ " on each side. A lofty central arch 72' 2" in height connects these two massive piers which project some 10' 0" from the front of the main façade and contain stairs leading to the roof of the Masjid, and from thence to the top of the propylon. The piers are divided into five storeys by enriched horizontal string courses, and in the second, third, fourth, and fifth are elaborate arched niches, set in triple architraves. The spandrels over the main arch are ornamented with raised diaper work. The tympanum forms a screen to hide the dome, and is divided into two portions by elaborate bands of clustered mouldings. The lower part is pierced by six arched openings and the upper by nine, all of which, with the exception of the topmost, are arched and cusped and set in embellished architraves. The masonry on each side is carved with rosettes. The lower portion of the propylon is pierced by three entrances leading into the hall under the grand dome, and over them are as many windows lighting the corridor connecting the *zānāna* gallery on the north with that on the south side of the Masjid. The propylon is now seen to a

disadvantage, as unfortunately most of the splendid stone trellis-work with which the arched openings in the tympanum were filled is wanting. The central entrance (Plate LIII) leading from the front platform to the dome is bridged by a stone lintel resting on carved and moulded double bracket corbels, partly supported by moulded angle capitals. The soffit of the entrance (Plate LV) forms an elaborate and fine piece of panelled ceiling work. In the centre of a rhombus is an elaborate lotus *patera* encircled by a carved floral wreath, radiating and repeating in design. The masonry on each side of the entrance is divided into panels by broad bands of carving continued round the openings as architraves. In the side wall of the central entrance is an arched niche or recess (Plate LIV) standing over an enriched horizontal string-course. It is enclosed by a broad flat border of strap-work carving, portions of which are defaced. On each side are small baluster shafts. The back is panelled and relieved by lotus rosettes, which are unfortunately decayed, and, like the shafts, coated with whitewash. The spandrels are moulded, panelled, and ornamented with *patera*.

The detail of the niches ornamenting the massive piers of the propylon is given on Plate LVI. The inner portion consists of a perforated stone screen filled in at the back with ashlar. It is recessed 1' 3" from the face of the wall, and is supported on each side by two angle shafts, from the tops of which four centred, stilted, and cusped arches spring. The niche is enclosed by triple architraves, the outer and inner jambs of which are raised 1½" above the central one. Each is carved with a different design. In the tympanum and spandrels of the arch are rosettes.

The façade on each side of the propylon is pierced by arched openings, opposite to the *mihrabs* in the west wall of the chambers within. The exterior of the long vaulted apartment is emphasised by a deep moulded string course, over which is a row of ornamented panels with a Greek cross cut in the spandrels over the inner arched panel. Both the north and south sides of the piers of the propylon are ornamented by four oblong recessed panels, and details of those in the southern pier are seen on Plates LVII, and LVIII. In design they are rich and varied, and no two are alike in their architraves.

The shafts, the screen work over the transoms, and the carved panels under the cusped arches all differ. Under each recess is a string moulding elaborately carved and returned on the west side of the propylon, which is plain in design, and pierced here and there by latticed window openings, lighting the steep stairs within. In the rear of the propylon stands the grand dome, the drum of which is octagonal. In the middle of each side stood kiosks, four of which still remain. The drum of the dome is crowned by a deep frieze, ornamented and carved (Plate LXX), and parts of it have been wrought into a design for which they were never intended. The base of the cupola is encircled by a band of arabesque incised ornament (Plate LXXI, fig. 1), executed in a kind of encaustic tile work in red and white pigments. Below is a narrow, hollow, chamfered table moulding. The cupolas of the kiosks are ornamented in a similar way (Plate LXXI, fig. 2). On each side of the dome is seen the roof over the vaulted chamber in the Masjid proper below, and like the cupola of the great dome and those over the north and south entrances to the quadrangle, is floated in cement, although the interior is of stone. The side elevation of the north and south entrance is shown on the west external façade (Plates XLIV and LII). In general design the western front resembles a fortified building. The walls are sloped to give an appearance of strength, and the angles are

emphasized by bastions, which are divided into three tiers by heavy string courses (Plates LXV, LXVIII, LXIX), which continue the whole length of the façade and stop on the lateral walls of the Masjid.

Till near the end of 1887 a stone staircase stood at the north-west angle of the Masjid and afforded access to the northern *zānāna* gallery. It was an essential part of the original structure, but was unfortunately removed by the local authorities on account of its supposed instability.

The north side of the fabric (Plate L) is in a dilapidated condition (not more so, however, than the eastern), more especially the north-east angle. The cloister on the west angle of the court-yard has lately been repaired. Beneath is a row of shops, and over these should be another storey, evidence of which remains in the pilasters and capitals at the north-east angle of the Masjid proper. The gate entrance to the quadrangle in the centre of the façade has been *restored* by the Muhammadan community, and unfortunately without regard to that on the south side of the quadrangle (Plate LXXII), which is very effective in design.

It is approached by a steep flight of stone steps extending the whole width of the gateway, which is 43' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, 37' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " across the top, and 40' across the base. It projects in front of the cloisters about 22'. The central part is recessed some 5' and spanned by a four-centred and slightly stilted arch. The spandrels over it are panelled, moulded, and ornamented with *pateræ*. The tympanum is unadorned and pierced by one small arched opening. The solid masonry on each side of the entrance is broken up by decorated string mouldings, and in the stories thus formed are arched recesses, the backgrounds of which are ornamented with richly-carved panels. The arches of the recesses are cusped and rest on angle shafts composed of two small octagonal balusters and three dies; the centre one is carved. In the rear is a square chamber which is roofed by a dome resting on an octagonal drum. It is counterpart to that on the north side of the quadrangle, a section of which is given on Plate LXXXIII.

Like the Atala and Lal Darwāza Masjids, the edifice is constructed of ashlar stone masonry neatly tooled with fine joints. The domes, the roofs, the copings, &c., are floated in cement on the external faces.

The eastern half of the court-yard is covered with grass and trees, whilst the other is flagged and constitutes the praying place, on which the followers of Islam congregate to perform their devotions.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The following inscriptions have been found in the Jāmi Masjid:—

Inscription No. XXVIII is written in fine Tughrā characters on the top of the *mīhrāb* in the central hall.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ أَنْشَأَوْا عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رَحْمَكُ يَتَّقِنُهُمْ تَرْبِيمُ رُكْنًا
وَسُجَّدًا يَتَّقِنُونَ فَضْلًا مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضاً يَتَّقِنُونَ فِي رَجْوِهِمْ أَتْرَ مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement! Muhammad, the Prophet of God, and his companions, are mighty over the heathens. Among them you will find

people kneeling and bowing down. They gain favour and pleasure of God, and are discerned by the mark of adoration on their foreheads." [Qurán, Súrah Faṣh.]

Inscription No. XXIX is written in Arabic characters round the outer margin of the pointed arch of the *mihrāb* in the central hall.

اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَخْدُمُهُ سَنَةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَلِكَ الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ
عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا يَعْمَلُونَ إِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا خَلَقَمْ رَبُّ الْجَمَادِ
وَالْأَرْضِ وَالْمَوْتَدِ حِفْظَهُمَا هُوَ الْغَلِيْقُ الْعَظِيْمُ

"God ! there is no God, but He who is living and self-subsisting. Slumber and sleep do not overcome Him. Every heavenly and earthly thing belongs to Him. No one can intercede with Him save His own permission. He knows their present and past, and His knowledge does not come within their compass. His throne extends over heaven and earth, and their preservation is not burdensome to Him. He is the high, the mighty." [Qurán, Súrah II.]

A Sanskrit inscription (No. XXX) of the eighth century is found, upside down, on one of the lower voussoirs of the outer arch of the south entrance of the Jāmi Masjid. The stone measures 15" by 12½", but it has been cut away on the left side and below the tenth line to fit it to its place. It is thus too much mutilated to allow of a connected translation, but it appears to belong to the reign of king Íśvara-varman—probably of the Maukhari dynasty of Western Magadha, and mentions a defeat of the Andhras.

CHAPTER VIII.

MINOR MASJIDS AND TOMBS.

Of the remaining masjids at Jaunpur the following four require special notice on account of their inscriptions:—

The Masjid of Haqīm Sultān Muhammād is a small vaulted building, erected in the reign of Akbar under the governorship of Ma'sūm Khān by Haqīm Sultān Muhammād, in A. H. 978 (A. D. 1570), on the northern bank of the Gūmtī close to the bridge. Khair-ad-dīn states incorrectly that "it was built by Khān Khānān Munīm Khān on the spot where prayed the fāqīrs who got the credit of the dry weather and the resource of the architect" constructing the bridge.

Inscription No. XXXI is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Mujtas*, in four lines on the north side of the Masjid of Haqīm Sultān Muhammād.

فیضی که ز لا اله الا الله است
از فضل محمد رسول الله است
این مسجد عالی که بنا کرد حکیم
انز زمان عدل اکبر شاه است

1. The beneficence of "there is no god but God."
2. Is the gift of Muhammad, the Prophet of God.
3. This masjid which has been erected by Haqīm.
4. Is the sign of the justful reign of Akbar Shāh.

Inscription No. XXXII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Ramal*, in eight lines, on the south corner of the Masjid. The first line is not complete, a few characters being defaced.

× × × × × × × ×
این بنا از لطف عام و فضل رحمن و رحیم
در زمان خان خاقان منزلت معصوم خان
آنکه هست از فیض رحمن هم رحیم و هم کریم
تا نماید ذکر نام بانی و سال بنا
بر طریقی کان بود مقبرل طبع مستقیم
دید مسکین گفت چون ابواب جلت در نظر
مسجد سلطان محمد کوست کحال و حکیم

1. (*In the reign*) of King Akbar (*was erected*)
2. this building by the grace of God, the merciful, the clement,

3. during the time of Ma'sūm Khān, who is equal in rank to the king of China,
4. who is, by the grace of God, merciful as well as gracious.
5. With a view to make known the name of the founder as well as the date of the building,
6. which may be agreeable to every unsophisticated mind,
- 7 and 8. the humble sight (*of the poet*) said: "the masjid of Sultān Muham-mad, who is optician and doctor, looks like the gates of heaven."

The last stanza gives the date of A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570).

Inscription No. XXXIII is written in very fine Tughrā characters round the outer frame of the *mīhrāb* in the central chamber of the Masjid of Haqīm Sultān Muhammad. Some words towards the end of the inscription are obliterated.

سُلْطَانِ رَحِيمِ دَيِّ عَالَمِ رَزِفِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ أَنْرَجِمِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَالِمِ الْقَيْمِ لَلَّهُ خَدُودُ سَبَّتُ دَلَّانِ
لَهُ مَانِيَ السَّمَوَاتِ دَمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَالِكِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ لَا يَادِنَهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا يَدِينُ دَمَّا خَلَقُهُمْ دَلَّا يُعْلَمُهُمْ
يَشْئِي مِنْ عِلْمِهِ لَا يَمْأَشِيَ وَسْعَ كُرْسِيِّ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ لَا يُبُونَهُ حَفَظُهُمْ دَهْنَارُهُمْ نَعْلَمُهُمْ شَهِيدُ اللَّهِ أَنَّهُ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبُّ الْعِزَّةِ وَرَبُّ الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

* * * *

سُبْحَانَ رَبِّكَ رَبِّ الْعِزَّةِ عَمَّا يَصْفُرُونَ رَسَلَامٌ عَلَى سَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

"The King, merciful, guardian, all-wise, clement, there is no God but He, the merciful, the clement. There is no God but He who is living and self-subsisting. Slumber and sleep do not overcome Him. Every earthly and heavenly thing belongs to Him. No one can intercede with Him save His own permission. He knows their present and past and His knowledge does not come within their compass. His throne extends over heaven and earth, and their preservation does not appear onerous to Him. He is the high, the mighty. [Qurān, Sūrah II.] God gives evidence that there is no God but He, who executes righteousness; and the angels and savants witness the same, there is no God but He, the mighty, the wise. [Qurān, Sūrah III] Thy almighty God is far above the praises attributed to Him. Peace upon the Prophet and praise to the Lord of the universe." [Qurān, Sūrah Sifāt].

The Masjid of Nawāb Mohsin Khān in mahallā Hammām Darwāza, at Jaunpūr, was built in the reign of Akbar, in A. H. 975 (A. D. 1567). It is a spacious flat-roofed building, and the following inscription records its erection.

Inscription No. XXXIV is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Ramal*, in six lines, on the south side of the masjid.

شکر کز توفیق حی لایمرت
گشت محراب عبادت این گنگشت

در چهارمی این خدالوند کریم
بانیش را ساخت منزل در بهشت
سال تاریخ بنایش کلک عقل
مسجد نواب محسن خان نوشت
سنه ۹۷۵

1. Thanks, by the grace of the self-living, who is immortal,
2. This temple has become the place of adoration (masjid) ;
3. In lieu of this, the bounteous God
4. Has erected a house in the Paradise for the founder ;
5. The date of its foundation has been written by the pen of wisdom ;
6. "Masjid Nawâb Mohsin Khân" [A. H. 975, 1567 A. D.]

The Masjid of Shâh Kabîr, in mahallâ Kartala of Jaunpur, was built by Bâbâ Bîk in A. H. 991, or A. D. 1583, during the reign of Akbar Shâh.

Inscription No. XXXV is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Mujtas*, in four lines, over the entrance door of the masjid.

این عبادت گه آراسته کعبه نظیر ترک قیچاق نسب قابض خورشید نظیر که شده جامع بر روزی زمین نقش پذیر منزل پاک عبادت گه اصحاب کبیر	شکر کز یاری توفیق با تمام رسید که بود بانی این پاک مکان با با بیلک بود از سال بندی نهد و یلک سال نه سال تاریخ تمامیش خرد کرد رقم
--	---

سنه ۹۹۱

1. Thanks, by the grace of God, this masjid like the Kâ'abâ was finished.
2. The founder of this sacred building is Bâbâ Bîk, a Turk of the Kîchâk family and possessor like the sun.
3. In the year of the Prophet 991 this masjid was erected.
4. The date of its completion, written by Wisdom, is "the holy place of adoration for the 'Ashabi Kabir." [A. H. 991, or A. D. 1583.]

The Masjid of Zahid Khân, on the south bank of the Gûmtî, east of the bridge in Miânpûr, was built in A. H. 1150, or A. D. 1737, as the following inscription shows.

Inscription No. XXXVI is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Ramal*, in two lines, over the entrance door of the masjid.

عجایب مسجدی عالی بپرداخت عبادت خانه زاهد رقم کرد	چه زاهد خان برای طلاقت حق خرد از بیر تاریخ بنایش
---	---

سنه ۱۱۵۰

1. When Zahid Khân erected this curious masjid for the adoration of God,
2. Wisdom wrote for the date of its foundation, "Zahid's place of adoration" [A. H. 1150, or A. D. 1737].

Of the many tombs of more or less pretensions which from the time of Firûz Shâh to the present day have been built over former dwellers of Jaunpur, the dargâh of Sulaimân Shâh within, and on the western side of, the Jail precincts is the most noteworthy.

It stands on a raised podium, some 65 feet square, and is built of brick coated with cement. It is square in plan and roofed by a dome; externally it measures 44' 6" by 44' 6", whilst internally the chamber tapes 29' by 29'. Each side is pierced by three arched openings, the centre one in each case being a little larger than that on each side. The soffits of the entrance are half-domed and panelled. The face of the wall is panelled and the angles are emphasized by slender octagonal columns reaching from the plinth to the cornice. The interior of the building is somewhat dingy and unattractive. The walls are plain, but are relieved by niches and here and there by *pateræ* in glazed tile-work. The principal feature is the dome, the cupola of which is beautifully coffered and at one time was ornamented in colour, traces of which remain.

The following inscription (No. XXXVII) is written in Persian poetry, the metre being *Hazoj*, in four lines on the north end of the grave.

سليمان شاه بُد مقبل دار
نقش ازرا کسی در ققر همسر
ز تاریخش شمرد و لام هر بار
بگوسته مرتبه اللہ اکبر

1. Sulaiman Shâh was the chosen of God;
2. None rivalled him in ascetism.
3. To find his date, reckon double *lám* every time,
4. Repeat thrice "God is great." [A. H. 867, A. D. 1462.]

The *abjad* powers of the letters contained in the word 'Allâh, according to *magtûbi* or written characters, amount to 36, and according to *mâfsûzi*, or as the word is pronounced, amount to 66. It is distinctly said in the third *misrah* that *lám* should be reckoned twice; hence the *abjad* powers of 'Allâh-ô-Akbar according to *mâfsûzi* make 289, which multiplied by three gives the date A. H. 867, or A. D. 1462.

There are, besides, several other tombs of a much later date at Jaunpûr, which the people attribute to the time of Bahlol Lodi, but which are the resting places of Biluchi noblemen of the time of Akbar, *viz.*, the mausoleum of Jafir 'Alî, a platform with dome, supported on twelve slender pillars, near the Club; Husain Beg's dargâh near the Panj Sharifa; the mausoleums of Kalich Khân, Nawâb Ghâzi Khân, *nâzims* of Jaunpûr, and of Mirza Husain Beg at Khatghara; the large mausoleum of Sher Zamân Khân, on the west bank of the Gûmtî near the bridge, being a Bagdadi octagon, or a square with the angles cut off; the dargâh of Khwâja Mîr in mahallâ Mufti and that of Faqîr Firûz Shâh in Sipâh mahallâ.

Enough has been said of the Jaunpûr masjids and tombs. For it will not be desired that we even catalogue the remaining masjids from that called after Mirzâ Mirak who repaired it, near the Sher Chabûtrâ, or the one built by Jamâl Khân, in the Sipâh mahallâ, who was *nâzim* of Jaunpûr in the time of Sikandar Shâh, or that built by Khân Khânân Munim Khân for Sulaimân Shekôh on the old south bank of the Gûmtî, or the long wall built by Husain Shâh for an *idzâh*, for which, even but seventy years back the *tahsildâr* of Jaunpûr had to furnish canopies and carpets. Still less will it be expected that we tell of the endowed *hammâms* which once made Jaunpûr a paradise; the buildings have long since perished, though they survived their endow-

ments, and their sites are only known by local names. Yet once more it is necessary to express somewhat of wonder at the noble buildings on which the Musalmān invader drew so largely and whose beauty formed his style. Though we have not the frank acknowledgments of Khair-ad-din and his account how Ibrāhīm thought it consecration enough to knock off the head of any image and built it, face inwards, in a wall, the carved ornament discovered where any stone has fallen—whether in the wall of the dower-house, the Jāmi Masjid, the Lāl Darwāza, or the Fort—would tell plainly enough the double use of the materials. If the Atala shew less of these than other buildings, the reason probably is that there but little of the ancient building was destroyed. Yet there and everywhere, all the ornament, in gross and in detail, is purely Buddhist ; the construction, the arches and domes only betray the influence of other taste. The arches are floriated with lotus buds, the spandrels relieved with full-blown lotus flowers, the bands of ornament are largely made up of lotus blossoms, in every stage, and lotus leaves from every point of view, more or less conventionalized, and even the name of God in the *qiblas* is inscribed on the Buddhist bell.

If in a visit to Jaunpūr there be melancholy, yet is that melancholy free from pain. You stand amid ruins, but ruins defiled by no painful memories. Not here does each building recall centuries of blood and lust and crime. From the pinnacles of the Jāmi Masjid you look down on the ghost of a noble city, trees growing where once stood the palaces of princes. From the mound of the Fort, now so desolate, you look down on the fair valley bright with the meanderings of the Gāumti, adorned with trees and the thick set tombs of men, many doubtless heroic men, though their deeds be forgotten *quia carent rite sacro*. As you look down from the upper chambers into the central hall of the Jāmi Masjid, when, as the evening draws on, the deepening gloom and the dimmer distance make you feel as standing in a noble shrine of a more familiar faith, the voice of some worshipper below, echoing through the vaults, carries you back to a time when, through the same lattice, some queen looked down on king and nobles gleaming in the light of pendant lamps, with the gold and jewels of an Eastern court, as they listened to the words of some saintly philosopher seated on that very pulpit. Yet not one of these scenes recalls a crime famous in the foul annals of this world's history, and the saddest spot in the fallen city is that little cloistered court where, amid rank grass and straggling *sarifa* trees, plain blocks of stone cover the resting-places of the able Mahmūd and his noble wife, at the foot of the marble sepulchre of their son, the king, traitor, and exile, Husain.

CHAPTER IX.

ZAFARĀBĀD.

Zafarābād lies on the south bank of the Gūmti four miles south-east of Jaunpūr. It is now a small agricultural village. Before the foundation of Jaunpūr it was the chief city of the neighbourhood, and up to that date it was the residence of Hindū princes of the Gaharwār clan, as local tradition gives the last one the same name as the last king of Kanauj, Jayachchhandra. According to another tradition he was called Sakatsimha, and received the fort of Saktisgarh in the Mirzāpūr district on his embracing Muhammadanism; an old Brāhman said that its ancient name was Mānātchgarh. The walls of the old *kankar* fort of Jayachchhandra are still standing and enclose a space of 8 acres to the west of the town. Zafar Khān, the governor appointed by Firuz Shāh, is said to have founded a city here and to have called it Shahr Anwar, which would give as the date of its foundation A. H. 762, or A. D. 1360; but Shaikh Bārha's masjid, on the other hand, is said to have been built or appropriated in A. H. 711, or A. D. 1311. The place has ever since been called Zafarābād.

A very remarkable building is the masjid known as that of Shaikh Bārha. The roof is flat and the interior is a hall 18 feet high, 9 bays deep, from east to west and 7 broad, from north to south. The outer ranges of columns are double, and plain walls close the spaces between the outmost. The square pillars are somewhat irregularly placed towards the western side; the aisle running from the door to the *qibla* is 8 feet 6 inches wide, the others 6 feet 6 inches. The substructure is of stone to above the level of the roof, and the arch which once finished the front has been of stone, but the upper half of the piers is of brick. The little remains of the spring of the arch do not seem to have any traces of the inner or recessed arch which frames the screens of the Jaunpūr masjids; but being one of the earliest and built by Hindū workmen, it conforms largely to their ideas of construction. The top of the piers is reached by a very steep stair running across the back of the arch. It never had a dome, whilst it certainly had a large arch between two piers giving a façade as lofty as that of the Atala masjid.

The stone on which Shaikh Bārha's dedication was carved fell from the front and is lost, but in a suit brought against Mr. Ommaney, a former Collector, evidence was given to show that the inscription gave the date of the building as A. H. 711, or A. D. 1311, and 'Alā-ad-dīn Mahmūd Khilji was said to have been the then ruler whose accession dates a century and a half later. The date refers most probably to the reign of 'Alā-ad-dīn Muhammad Shāh.

Inscription No. XXXVIII is written in Persian characters over the *mihrāb* of the central hall of the Zafarābād masjid.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قُلْ مَوْلَاهُ أَنْدَهُ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُوْلَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهٗ كُفُورٌ أَنَّهُ
وَاللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدُ الرَّسُولُ اللَّهُ

"In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. Say, God is but one. He is the Holy God; He is not born and none born from Him, and He has no relatives. [Qurán, Súrah Ikhlas.] There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Prophet." [Qurán, Súrah II.]

Inscription No. XXXIX is written in ten lines, mostly in Arabic and partly in Tughrā and Shafiyah characters over the entrance door of the *mazár* or dargāh of Makhdūm Sahib Chiragh-i-Hind, built by Zafar Khān in the reign of Firuz Shāh A. H. 781, or A.D. 1379. The inscription is in Persian poetry, the metre being *Ramal*; the last two lines are partly illegible, being very much defaced.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ

بعهد	ملک	فرالقرنین	ثانی	بناء شرع را از عدل	بانی
غیاث	دین	و دنیا	برالمظفر	سلیمان خاتم و جمشید	افسر
شده	افق	شاهنشاه	اعظم	جهانگیر مسلم	بفیروزی
پرآمد	این	حصار چرخ	ایران	که در رفتار گذشت از فرق کیوان	
بروقت	ختم	شببه	روز بوده	ربيع الزل میاه ستدوه	
همایین	ساعتی	و وقت	مسعود	ز هجری هفت صد و هشت یک بوده	
شد	از فرمان گردزن	آستانه	مشهور زمانه	بنا × × × × × × ×	
غلک	یک	×	×	× × × × × × ×	×
				× × × × × × × × ×	از خد اند

1. In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. Say, there is but one God.
 2. In the reign of another Alexander, the founder of the law by justice,
 3. Protector of religion and people, possessor of the ring of Solomon, and the crown of Jāmshēd,
 4. King of the world, the great emperor, conqueror of the whole world (*Firāz Shāh*),
 5. This rampart, as high as the firmament, and higher than *qaivān* (a star) was erected.
 6. It was completed on Saturday, in the auspicious month of Rabi-al-awwāl,
 7. At a fortunate moment and happy time in A. H. 781 [A. D. 1379].
 8. By order of Him whose threshold is the sky, this world-known was erected.
 - 9 and 10, are unintelligible.

The whole neighbourhood of Zafarābād abounds with *khérás*, the remains of Hindū palaces and temples, and with Musalmān tombs. Those to the west of the village for nearly a mile are said to be the resting-places of noblemen who with their leader, Sa'íd Murtaza, fell in the religious invasion of Shaháb-ad-din Ghori. The place is still called "the court of the martyrs," and the tomb of Murtaza is in plan a square platform of 20 feet, with twelve Hindū pillars supporting a low entablature, above which there is a small squat dome. There are two varieties of pillars, but their shafts,

agree in being octagonal below, sixteen-sided in the middle, and circular at the top; they are 4 feet 9 inches in height and from 15 inches to 16 inches in diameter. The capitals are all round, the upper part being like a tulip-shaped bowl. Above these are bracket-capitals, making the total height beneath the architraves 7 feet 7 inches. Several pillars of the same pattern are used up in the dargâhs of Makhdûm Shâh and 'Asar-ad-dîn.

Near Murtaza's tomb there are a couple of small octagonal tombs, standing close together, which are commonly known as the "two sisters." These also are open buildings standing on Hindû pillars with octagonal shafts and finely-carved capitals surmounted by the usual bracket-capitals. The superstructure is also eight-sided, with openings on the alternate sides and a battlement above, from which springs a Pathân dome with rather steep sides and a flattish top.

CHAPTER X.

AYODHYA, BHUILA TAL, AND SAHET MAHET.

AYODHYÂ.

Bâbar's-Masjid at Ayodhyâ was built in A. H. 930, or A. D. 1523, by Mir Khân, on the very spot where the old temple Janmâsthânam of Râmachandra was standing. The following inscriptions are of interest:

Inscription No. XL is written in Arabic characters over the central *mîhrâb* of the masjid ; it gives twice the Kalimah :—

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

"There is no God but 'Allâh, Muhammad is His Prophet.' [Qurân, Sûrah II.]

Inscription No. XLI is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramal, in six lines on the *mîmbâr*, right-hand side of the masjid.

بِنَشْلَى بَا بِرْ خَدِيرْ جَهَنْ
بِشَانِيَكَهْ بَا كَاخْ گُرْدَنْ عَنَانْ
بَنَا كَرْدَهْ اِبْنْ خَانَهْ پَالْدَارْ
امِيرْ سَعَادَتْ نَشَانْ مِيرْ خَانْ
بِمَانَدْ هَمِيشَهْ چَنَا بَانِيَشْ
چَنَانْ شَرِيَارْ زَمِينْ وَ زَمَانْ

1. By order of Bâbar, the king of the world,
2. This firmament-like, lofty,
3. Strong building was erected
4. By the auspicious noble Mir Khân.
5. May ever remain such a foundation,
6. And such a king of the world.

The letters of this inscription have been mixed together by the copyist, and are therefore very indistinct.

Inscription No. XLII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramal, in ten lines, above the entrance door of the masjid. A few characters of the second and the whole third lines are completely defaced.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
بَنَامَ آنَهَهُ خَالقَ بَنَلَمَ جَارِدَانِي
كَنَدَ خَالقَ بَنَلَمَ جَارِدَانِي × × × × × × ×
× × × × × × × × × ×
زَمِينَ رَا چَنَانْ مَثَلَ شَادِمَانِي چَنَانْ شَاهِنَشَهْ مَشْهُورْ اَقْلِيمْ
كَهْ خَاقَانْ دَرَلَتْ وَ فَعَفُورْ ثَانِي دَرَانْ حَضُورْ يَكِي مَيْرِي مَعْظَمْ
كَهْ نَهَصَدَ سَى بُودَ هَجَرَتْ بَدَانِي بَنَانِي عَبْدَ دِينِ تَارِيَخِ مَيْمَنْ

خدایا در جهان باشاد بادا
بچتر و بخت بخت زندگانی
نشاند در جهان با بر گل خیر کند در درز گیتی کامرانی
مشیر سلطنت تدبیر ملکش کزین مسجد حصاری هست بانی
هذاقطعه التاریخ صفت مسجد بخط نجیف عبد معییف فتح الله غرجی صحر

- 1 In the name of God, the merciful, the clement.
 - 2 In the name of him who . . . ; may God perpetually keep him in the world.
 - 3
 - 4 Such a sovereign who is famous in the world, and in person of delight for the world.
 - 5 In his presence one of the grandees who is another king of Turkey and China,
 - 6 Laid this religious foundation in the auspicious Hijra 930.
 - 7 O God ! may always remain the crown, throne and life with the king.
 - 8 May Bâbar always pour the flowers of happiness ; may remain successful
 - 9 His counsellor and minister who is the founder of this fort masjid.
 - 10 This poetry, giving the date and eulogy, was written by the lazy writer and poor servant Fath-allâh-Ghori, composer.

The old temple of Rāmachandra at Janmāsthānam must have been a very fine one, for many of its columns have been used by the Musalmāns in the construction of Bābar's masjid. These are of strong, close-grained, dark-coloured or black stone, called by the natives *kasauli*, "touch-stone slate," and carved with different devices. They are from seven to eight feet long, square at the base, centre and capital, and round or octagonal intermediately.

Inscription No. XLIII is written in Tughrā characters on a fragment of red sand-stone, brought from the ruined Masjid of Aurangzib, built on the site of an old temple, called Svargadvāramandiram. The original stone is at present in the Faizābād Local Museum.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِأَنْكَ وَسَلَّمَ وَصَلَّى

"There is no God but Allâh, and Muhammad is His Prophet. May peace, benediction and blessings be upon him!" [Qurân.]

Inscription No. XLIV is written in twenty incomplete lines on a white sandstone, broken off at either end, and split in two parts in the middle. It is dated Samvat 1241, or A. D. 1184, in the time of Jayachchandra of Kanauj, whose praises it records for erecting a Vaishnava temple, from whence this stone was originally brought and appropriated by Aurangzib in building his masjid known as Tretā-kī-Thākur. The original slab was discovered in the ruins of this Masjid, and is now in the Faizábád Local Museum.

BRUNA TÅL.

This place lies 18 miles north-west from Basti and 25 miles north-east from Ayodhyā and has been identified by Mr. Carleyle² with Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Śākyamuni, which identification General Cunningham approves of. After

¹ The Oudh Gazetteer, Vol. I, page 6, gives the date of the completion of this Masjid as A. H. 935, or A. D. 1528; the word Ajra in the inscription having probably been read rasi. But this is incorrect as the mosque was built in 1526.

² Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XIII., page 112.

a careful inspection of all the places identified by Mr. Carleyle, I come to the conclusion that this spot cannot be the Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu (Kapilavastu) of Hiuen Tsiang, on the following grounds:—

1. Hiuen Tsiang states "that the country of Buddha's birth is about 4,000 li in circuit," whilst the tract of land lying between the Ghâgrâ river and the Gandakâ, from Ayodhyâ to the confluence of these rivers, gives a circuit of 550 miles, which would represent upwards of 600 miles by road.
2. The places excavated and identified by Mr. Carleyle as the principal palace of Suddhodana Râjâ, the bed-chamber of the queen Mahâmâyâ, and the stûpa of Asita the Rishi, are so insignificant that they cannot be the remains of the ruins mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.
3. The circular tank about 340 feet to the south of Bhûila Tâl and still called, according to Mr. Carleyle, 'Hâthikund' or 'Hâthigadh,' was identified by him with the *hostigarta*, or 'fallen elephant ditch' of Hiuen Tsiang, and General Cunningham is perfectly convinced that this is the spot indicated in the Chinese text. The chaukidâr of the neighbouring village Nyagrodha, however, states that the name Hâthikund or Hâthigadh was first given to this tank by Mr. Carleyle himself, and that this name was utterly unknown in that part of the country before the arrival of Mr. Carleyle.
4. Mr. Carleyle indicates Krakuchchanda Buddha's fabled birth-place at Nagara, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-west of Kapilavastu, whilst it must be sought 8 miles to the south-east of that place, as Fa-Hian, visiting this place after leaving Srâvasti, went north about 8 miles, then east 8 miles to Kapilavastu.

From this it is evident that Bhûila Tâl is *not* the ancient site of Kapilavastu. Our knowledge about the position of Kapilavastu may at present be reduced to this: that it lay on the route from the Buddhist cities of eastern Gorakhpûr to the Buddhist Srâvasti (Sahet-Mahet) of the Gondâ district, and that route probably passed between the Ghâgrâ and Rapti rivers.

SAHET-MAHET.

A vast collection of ruins on the south bank of the Rapti, 12 miles north-west from Balrâmpûr and 42 north-west from Gondâ, was identified by General Cunningham¹ as the remains of the ancient Buddhist city Srâvasti, whose site had already been conjecturally fixed by Lassen within a few miles of that place, but to the north of the river.

Notwithstanding the excavations made by General Cunningham in 1862-63 and by Dr. W. Hoey, C.S., in 1884-85, as yet very little is known of these most interesting ruins, which must contain relics which would do much to elucidate some of the darkest and most interesting periods of Indian history. I have no doubt that a thorough and properly conducted excavation would be of great success and yield many Buddhist and Jaina relics, and especially as the Mahârâjî of Balrâmpûr is willing to grant a large subvention for this purpose; but it ought to be gone about in a scientific method.

¹ *Archæological Reports*, Vol. I, 330 seqq.; Vol. XI, 78 seqq.

During my stay I collected at Sahet eight baked and two unbaked clay seals containing in five lines, and in one instance in fifteen lines, the Buddhist creed formula in Devanāgarī characters of the seventh and eighth century; one lac seal, inscribed with *jurasa* in Gupta characters; one unbaked clay seal of a Buddhist monastery, as it would seem to be from its appearance and place where found at Sahet, inscribed *atrāsa* in Gupta characters; one lac seal found outside the west gate of Mahet, inscribed *govanandasa* in Gupta characters; two lac seals inscribed *navatipukayasa* in Gupta characters with the *seastika* and Aśoka leaves above; one lac seal, inscribed *ashṭavṛiddha* in Gupta characters; one baked clay seal representing a chaitya; and two copper coins of Phaguni and Bhūmi Mitra—of the so-called Śuṅga dynasty. That Buddhism was still flourishing at Śrāvasti in the seventh and eighth century is proved by the many baked and unbaked clay seals found there, inscribed in characters of that time.

Jainism was very strong in Śrāvasti in the eleventh century, as is shown by the following Jain statues excavated by Dr. W. Hoey and now placed in the Lucknow Provincial Museum: a well-carved statue of Vimalanātha ḍēva (sitting), dated Samvat 1133, Jyaishṭha su.di. 3; another (standing), Samvat 1182; a statue of Neñinātha (sitting), dated Samvat 1125; a statue of Amśanātha (standing), Samvat 1112; and a statue of Rishabhanātha (standing), Samvat 1124.

The most interesting fact, however, is the discovery of an inscription (No. XLV) at Mahet, which shows that Buddhism was still flourishing at the ancient site of Śrāvasti in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that it was not extinguished in Magadha at that time.

This inscription was found by Dr. W. Hoey during his excavations in 1884-85 at Mahet, buried under the ruins of a Buddhist building erected on the old site of Buddha's *vihāra* in Jetavana. The inscribed sandstone measures 2' 9" by 1' 3", and records in eighteen lines, in Samvat 1276 (A. D. 1219), the erection of a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town of Ajāvṛisha by Vidhyādhara, the fifth of six sons of Janaka and Jijjā, and grandson of Bilvaśiva, of the Śrī Pūrva-Vāstavya family. Janaka, the father of Vidhyādhara, is described as the counsellor of Gopāla, the ruler of Gādhipura, or Kanauj; and Vidhyādhara appears to have held a similar position under the Prince Madana, probably a successor of Gopāla. The town of Ajāvṛisha is said to have been built by Māndhāta of the solar race and to have its protection entrusted to Karkoṭa (*Siva*); this proves that the old Buddhist name of the place, *viz.*, Śrāvasti, must have been lost very early. It is also interesting in another respect,—because it speaks of the Hindū kingdom of Kanauj as if it were still in existence, though we know that Jayachehhanda of Kanauj was defeated and his capital taken by the Musalmāns in A. D. 1193. The original slab is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The preservation of the slab is perfect. The mistakes made by the engraver are few and unimportant and admit of easy correction. In respect to orthography we have to notice:—(1) the frequent use of the dental sibilant for the palatal in ten cases; (2) the constant occurrence of *ba* being denoted by the sign for *va*; (3) the persistent doubling of *k*, *g*, *j*, *t*, *m*, *l* in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The characters are Devanāgarī of the twelfth century; the *anusvāra*, instead of being written above the *akshara* after which it is pronounced, is eleven times written

after it, with the sign of *nirāma* below the *anumāra*. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse throughout, excepting the introductory blessing and the date at the end. From a grammatical point of view there is the wrong form *avamanya*, the wrong compound *latpañchamah*, and the unusual derivatives *janīna* and *udarambharīna*.

TEXT.¹

[L. 1.] ओं नमो वीतरागाय ॥ *भारानटनियम्य दित्तधिपतीनायोज्य सत्त्वोदये दुलेष्याश्ववमन्य
संवररिपोराज्ञाचराख्यहतः । उद्दतुः यतते स्य यः करुणया श्रीसा -

[2.] क्वासिंहो 'जगदोधिं प्राप्य चै उद्दतामभिगतः सत्त्वां परिचायतां ॥ [१॥] *संसाराभोधिताराय
तारामुच्चारलोचनां । वन्दे गीर्वाणवाणीनां भारतीमधिदेवताम् ॥ [२॥]

[3.] 'मांधातास्यः शत्रुजिच्छक्तुल्यो वंसे भानीर्भानुतेजोतिसायो । निवानन्दी साधु भोक्ता
चिलोकीं राज्ञामाद्यवक्रवर्तीं वभूव ॥ [३॥] 'खेच्छां भास्यकदाचिक्षर -

[4.] सिरहरजोराजिचिनीकताश्चः सम्यग्दृष्टा सरोन्तर्मदकलसकुनिब्रातरावाभिरम्य । कतुः
कीर्त्तिवितानं सुचरितमुदितो मृद्विरापूर्यं यत्ताक्षेत्राधीनरा -

[5.] चं सपुरमिदमथो निर्ममेजाह्वास्यं ॥ [४॥] *तस्मिन्बूवम्यनिनीतिघन्याः श्रीपूर्ववास्तव्य-
कुलप्रदीपाः । अद्यापि यद्वंसमवैर्यशीभिर्जगति सुभैर्धवली -

[6.] क्रियन्ते ॥ [५॥] *तेषामभूदभिजने जलधाविवेदुरिंदुद्युतिः प्रथितविल्लशिवाभिधानः । यस्य
आराविचरणां दुजवत्सलस्य लक्ष्मीहिंजातिसुजनार्थिजनोपभो -

[7.] एवा ॥ [६॥] *सौजन्यां तु निधिरुदारचरितप्रत्यस्यमानैनसः साधूनामुदयैकधाम जननीस्थानं
श्रियः सत्त्वम् । तत्यासीजनको जनीनहृदयः पुच्छः सताम -

[8.] व्रणीर्भान्यो गाधिपुराधिपत्य सचिवो गीपालनाम्बः सुधीः ॥ [७॥] *तेनोचकैरभिजनाम्युनिधिः
प्रसूता लक्ष्मीरिवाच्युतविभूपणकान्तमूर्तिः । आनन्दकन्दज -

[9.] ननी जननीकुलानां जिज्ञेति संष्टकुलस्थितिनोपयोगे ॥ [८॥] *ताम्यामभूवस्तनयाः पद्मेव
वद्विमुखैरेकतनुर्यं एकः । ज्यायाम्युतः पिपटनामधि -

[10.] यो धीमानिवास्त्रिप्रभवः शिवाभ्यां ॥ [९॥] *तत्पञ्चमः पंचसरानुकारी तयोस्तनूजोतनुकोर्त्ति-
कन्दः । विद्यावबोधादनुकीर्त्तते यो विद्याधरो नाम यथार्थ -

[11.] नामा ॥ [१०॥] *रसाधिकमभिव्यापि गिरीशचरणाचितं । हंसीव मानसं यस्य जहाति
स्मान भारती ॥ [११॥] *माधुर्ये मधुनो मुधा हिमस्त्रेरानन्दसेषाविता मि -

[12.] *यैवाम्युनिधिर्भारिमगुणसंगत्वमदेरलं । यस्यैकैकगुणाधिरोहणगिरे सौजन्यसांद्रोलसत्पी-
यपैकनिधिर्मुणेन गुणिनः सर्वेष्यधब्दक्रिरे ॥ [१२॥] *यस्मै

¹ From the original stone.

² L. 1. Metre Śārdūlavikṛiṣita. Read: सत्त्वोदये दुलेष्याश्ववमन्य इत्यरः; यौष्ठा -

³ Metre Śloka (Anusabhbh).

⁴ L. 2. Read: क्वासिंहिं उद्दतामभिगतः;

⁵ Metre Śragdhurā.

⁶ L. 3. Metre Śālinī. Read: वंशे, तेजीतिसायो । वभूव;

⁷ L. 4. Read: चक्रनि;

⁸ L. 5. Metre Upajāti. Read: यर्द्दं, शुभैर्धवलो -

⁹ L. 6. Metre Vasantatilakā. Read: विलै, "चरणाम्बः

¹⁰ L. 7. Metre Śārdūlavikṛiṣita. Read: सौजन्याम्बः, सत्त्वम्;

¹¹ L. 8. Metre Vasantatilakā. Read: चमिश्वाम्बः;

¹² L. 9. Metre Indravajrā.

¹³ L. 10. Metre Upajāti. Read: पञ्चसरानुकारे; विद्यावबोधादनुकीर्त्तते.

¹⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikṛiṣita.

¹⁵ L. 11. Metre Śloka (Anushabhbh).

¹⁶ Metre Vasantatilakā.

¹⁷ L. 12. Read: यैवाम्बः, तान्दीप्रसन्नः .

- [13.] गजागमरहस्यविदे गजानामानन्दनी कलयते धुरसुदुराय । भूपालमौलितिको मठनः प्रदानमानादिभिः वितिपतिः सृहयां^{१०} वभूव ॥ [१३॥] ^{११}देवा -
- [14.] लयैः प्रवयता निजकीर्त्तिमूचैः ^{१२}पुर्वदिजव्रजसुदेतुमलस्वभूव । येनाज्ञितं द्रविणमार्तजनो-पकारि जीवातुसमृद्धमुदासुदरम्भरोण ॥ [१४॥] ^{१३}सत्त्वसार्थप -
- [15.] रिचाणकातकायपरिग्रहः । अभूदभूतपूर्वोयं ^{१४}वीषिषत्व इवापरः ॥ [१५॥] ^{१५}आमचातकती-दयन विगलद्रागादिदीषाच्यग्रोहच्छब्दनसा विचार्यं वहुसो
- [16.] मध्यस्थतां सौगते^{१६} तेनाराधितसत्ययेन यमिनामानन्दमूलालयोः ^{१७}निर्माण्योत्तस्तजे विहार-विधिना कीर्त्तेऽरिवैकाच्ययः ॥ [१६॥] ^{१८}सहीधवंद्यचरि -
- [17.] तस्य नयैकधात्रवच्छंद्रावदातहृदयः सुमतिः कलावान् । चस्य प्रियेषु निरतः ^{१९}सुमगंभविष्टः सम्बन्धवन्मुखदयी विदधि प्रस्तस्ति॒ ॥ [१७॥]
- [18.] संवत् १२७६ [॥]

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Adoration to him who is free from passions !

(Verse 1.) May the illustrious Śâkyâ lion protect you!—he who, having at the rising of truth restrained the eight Mâras, (*and*) attracted to himself the lords over the (*eight*) regions, having treated with contempt the difficult-to-be-transgressed words of command of the enemy Śambara, full of zeal through compassion exerted himself to deliver the world; and who, having reached the Bodhi tree, attained the Buddhahood!

(2.) To cross the ocean of worldly existence, I adoré the saving Bhârati, whose eyes have protruding pupils,^{१०} the goddess presiding over the utterances of the gods.

(3.) In the race of the Sun there was, surpassing the splendour of the Sun, the universal sovereign, the first of kings, named Mândhâtî, conquering the enemies, equal to Indra, ever gladdening, well protecting the three worlds.

(4.) Once upon a time, roaming about at his pleasure, he saw a pleasant lake whose waters were variegated with lines of the pollen of lotuses, (*and*) charming with the cries of flocks of sweetly-singing birds in it; and having strenuously filled it with earth, he, who delighted in good conduct, to make a canopy of fame, then built this town of his, named Ajâvriṣha, the protection of which was entrusted to Karkoṭa (*Siva*).

(5.) In it there were (*born*) wealthy (*and*) very fortunate (*men*), lights of the illustrious Pûrva-Vâstavya family, by the splendid fame of whose race the worlds are rendered white even now.

(6.) As the moon (*is born*) from the ocean, so in their family there was (*born a personage*,) shining like the moon, whose name Bilyâśiva was famous; devoted as he was to the lotus-feet of the enemy of Kâma, (*i.e.*, *Siva*), his wealth was an object of enjoyment to the twice-born, to virtuous people, and to supplicants.

^{१०} L. 13. Read: वभूव.

^{११} Metre Vasantatilakâ.

^{१२} L. 14. Read: पुर्वदिजव्रजसुदेतुमल वभूव.

^{१३} Metre Sloka (Anushubh). Read: सत्त्व.

^{१४} L. 15. Read: वीषिषत्व.

^{१४} Metre Sârdulavrikñîta. Read: आमचातकतीदयेन; वहुसो.

^{१५} L. 16. Read: निर्माण्योत्तस्तजे.

^{१५} Metre Vasantatilakâ. Read सहीध.

^{१६} L. 17. Read: सुमगंभविष्टः; सम्बन्धवन्मुखदयी; प्रस्तस्ति॒.

^{१७} The original alludes to the Tîrâs, or Saktis of the Dhyâni-Buddhas, one of whom is called *Lochana*.

(7.) He an ocean of benevolence, who was counteracting sins by his noble conduct, had a son, Janaka, a unique home of the good, a birthplace of fortune, a site of goodness, with a heart kind to people, the foremost of the good, the honoured wise counsellor of the ruler of Gādhipura (Kanauj), named Gopāla.

(8.) He, who well maintained the prosperity of his family, married the daughter of a noble race, named Jijjā, who was causing joy to her mother's family, (*and who*), inasmuch as her lovely body possessed imperishable ornaments, was like Lakshmi, born from the ocean, whose lovely body beautifies Achyuta (Vishnu).

(9.) From these two there were born no less than six sons, just as the intelligent progeny of fire, called Pippata²⁹ who one, with one body, is endowed with six faces, (*was born*), as the elder son, from Śiva and his consort.

(10.) Their fifth son of those (*six*), resembling the five-arrowed (*Kāma*) (*and*) the root of no slight fame, who is celebrated for his knowledge of wisdom, is named, with an appropriate name, Vidyādhara "the holder of wisdom."

(11.) Whose comprehensive mind, full of taste (*and*) attached to the feet of Śiva, Bhārati never abandoned, just as the swan never leaves the extensive Maṇasa lake, full of water (*and*) situated at the foot of the lord of mountains (*Himālaya*).

(12.) Vain is the sweetness of honey (*and*) the proficiency in (*creating*) joy of the cool-rayed (*moon*); a sham indeed is the quality of depth of the ocean (*and*) the height of the mountain; (*but*) enough! by the excellent qualities of this mountain for the ascent of every single excellency, of this unique receptacle of the abundant sparkling nectar of benevolence, everything whatever that is endowed with excellent qualities has been surpassed!

(13.) Him, who knew the secret doctrine regarding elephants, (*and*) who, unrestrained, bore the burden of elephants that was causing pleasure (*to him*), the head-ornament of princes, the lord of the earth, Madana, sought to attach to himself by gifts, honours, and so forth.

(14.) The wealth acquired by him, who spread his fame aloft by (*building*) temples,—(*wealth*) which gave relief to people in distress, (*and*) filled the bellies of those filled with joy at (*the receipt of*) food,—was sufficient to exceed the multitude of the twice-born supported (*by it*).

(15.) He was as it were another Bodhisattva, such as had never existed before, having assumed a human body for the protection of the multitude of living beings.

(16.) Elevated by the knowledge of the soul, (*and*) with a mind rising above the attachment to passion, and of other sins of which he was getting rid, having again and again pondered on the indifference towards the doctrine of Sugata, he, having resorted to the good path, caused to be built and granted to the ascetics, after the manner of convents, a dwelling causing joy, a unique home of it as if it were of (*his own*) fame.

(17.) Taking delight in whatever is dear to him, the unique home of prudence, whose conduct is an object of adoration for people of true knowledge, Udayin, (*his*) kinsman by association, whose heart is pure like the moon, (*and who is*) wise (*and*) accomplished (*and*) becoming prosperous, has composed (*this*) eulogy.

(L. 18.) The Samvat (*year*) 1276, or A. D. 1219.

²⁹ According to this version, Pippata is apparently another name of Skanda or Kārtikeya; there is, however, clearly an allusion to the legend according to which Kārtikeya was the son of Śiva without the intervention of Parvati, Śiva's generative energy being cast into the fire.

INDEX.

Page	Page
Ayodhyā: —	
Bābar's Masjid at, built in A. H. 920 on the ruins of an old temple called Janmīsthānam of Rāma-chandra	67
Aurangzib's Masjid at, built on the site of an old temple called Svargamandiram	68
Aurangzib's Masjid at, known as Trāṭā-ki-Thikfūr	68
Inscription of Jayachchandra of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1241, at,	68
Rāmachandra, fabled king of, kills the giant demon Karālavīra	1
Mentioned in an inscription of Samvat 1353	51
Bhār tribe: —	
Formerly occupied the region round Jaunpūr	1
Karār probably the name of a class of,	1, note 2
Bhūlla Tāl: —	
Wrongly identified by Mr. Carleyle with Kapilavastu	68, 69
Coins: —	
Of the Mitra dynasty found at Sahet-Mahet	70
Inscriptions: —	
(a) <i>Arabic</i> .—Of Ibrāhim Nāib Bārbak, dated A. H. 778	50
Quotations from the <i>Qurān</i> and the <i>Hadīs</i>	39, 42, 49, 50, 57, 58, 60, 64, 67, 68
(b) <i>Persian</i> .—Of Firuz Shāh, dated A. H. 778	38
Of Firuz Shāh, dated A. H. 781	65
Of Sulaimān Shāh, A. H. 867	62
Of Bābar, A. H. 930	67, 68
Of Munim Khān, dated A. H. 972, 975, 976	17—19
Of Akbar Shāh, A. H. 975	60, 61
Ditto, A. H. 978	59, 60
Of Bābā Fik, A. H. 991	61
Of Zahid Khān, A. H. 1150	61
Of Zā'īl 'All Mūnīr Khān, A. H. 1180	28
(c) <i>Sanskrit</i> .—Short legends in Gupta characters on lac and clay seals	70
The Buddhist creed formula in characters of the 7th and 8th centuries, on clay seals	70
Of Līvvaravarman, undated, about the 8th century	58
Dedicatory records on the pedestals of Jaina statues, dated Samvat 1112, 1124, 1125, 1133, and 1182	70
Mutilated record of Samvat 1128	50
Of Vijayachandra of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1225	50
Of Jayachchandra of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1241	68
Of Vidyādhāra, dated Samvat 1276	70
Pilgrims' records, dated Samvat 1297	59
Of Padumśādhu, dated Samvat 1353	51
Masons' records, dated Samvat 1433, 1435, 1484, 1485	40
Mason's record, undated	51
Jaunpūr: —	
The Bhārs formerly occupied the region round,	1
Temple of Karālavīra (Karār Bir) at, destroyed by Firuz Shāh	1, note 2; 4
Jaunpūr—contd.	
Wrongly identified by Mr. Ommaney with Yavapura on the Gūmti	2
Wrongly identified by General Sir A. Cunningham with Yamonyāpura	2
Probable date of the foundation of,	2, 3, 4
Founded by a Gaharwār prince of ancient Zafarābād and enlarged by Firuz Shāh	2, 3, 4
Named after Malik Jūnā, Firuz Shāh's predecessor	4
Firuz Shāh's Fort at,	4, 23, 24
Khwāja Jahān, the first independent Prince of,	4
Mubāraq Shāh Sharqi of,	5
Shams-ad-din Ibrāhim Shāh Sharqi of,	6
Mahmud Shāh Sharqi of,	8
Bībī Rājī, queen of Mahmud Shāh of,	8, 9
Muhammad Shāh Sharqi of,	10
Husain Shāh Sharqi of,	10, 11, 12
Bārbak Shāh-ibn-Bahlol, governor of,	12
Jahād-din Nazrī Shāh Sharqi, ex-king of,	14, note 1
Sikandar destroys the principal buildings at,	13
Humāyūn endeavours to renew the prosperity and ancient glories of,	13
Pābar's probable stay at,	14
'All Qall Khān, Khān Zamān, governor of,	15
Khān Khanān Munim Khān, governor of,	16
Inscriptions on Akbar's great bridge at,	17—19
Description of Akbar's great bridge at,	20
Aurangzib's stay at,	21
Science patronised by the princes of,	7, 22
Ibrāhim Nāib Bārbak's Fort-Masjid at,	25
The Lāt inscription in front of Fort-Masjid at,	26
The Lāt inscription outside the Fort gateway at,	27, 28
Description of the Ataladevi Masjid at,	29—38
Inscriptions on the Ataladevi Masjid at,	39, 40
Description of the Khālis-Mukhlis and Jhanjhri Masjid at,	41
Inscription on the Jhanjhri Masjid at,	42
Description of the Lal Darwāza Masjid at,	43—49
Inscriptions on the Lal Darwāza Masjid at,	50, 51
Description of the Jāmī Masjid at,	52—57
Inscriptions on the Jāmī Masjid at,	58
Description of, and inscriptions on, the Masjid of Haqīm Sultān Muhammed at,	59
Description of, and inscription on, the Masjid of Nawāb Mohsin Khān at,	60
Description of, and inscription on, the Masjid of Shāh Kābir at,	61
Description of, and inscription on, the Masjid of Zahid Khān at,	61
Description of, and inscription on, the Dargāh of Sulaimān Shāh at,	62
Reflections on the history of,	63
Sahet-Mahet: —	
Identified with the ancient Śrīvasti	69
Buddhist lac and clay seals of the 7th and 8th centuries, inscribed, found at,	70
Jaina statues of the 12th century, inscribed, excavated at,	70

	Page		Page
Sahet-Mahet—contd.		Zafarābād—contd.	
Called Ajāryisha in a Buddhist inscription of Saṁvat 1276	70	Region round ancient, held by the Pāla dynasty of Bāndras	2
Coins of the Mitra dynasty found at,	70	Residence of Hindū princes of the Gaharwār clan at,	64
Sharqī dynasty—		Halts of Firdz Shāh at,	3, 4
History of the,	4-13	Zafar Khān, the new founder of,	3, 64
Masjids, pavilions, and baths built at Jamuphr by, 7, 9, 25-58		Said to have been called Shahr 'Ānwar	64
Zafarābād—		Description of, and inscription on, Shaikh Bārba's Masjid at,	3, note 1; 64
Perhaps Yavanendrapura of the <i>Harivamsha</i>	2	Description of the Dargāb of Makhdūm Sāhib Chirāgh-i-Hind at,	3, 4, 65
Ratagūh, being ancient name of the Fort only of,	2	Inscription of Firdz Shāh, dated A. H. 781, at,	65
Buddhist temples at, destroyed by Sūlār Masa'ūd-		Neighbourhood of, dotted with kherās	65, 66
Ghāzī	2		

PLATE IV.

JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID,—GROUND PLAN.

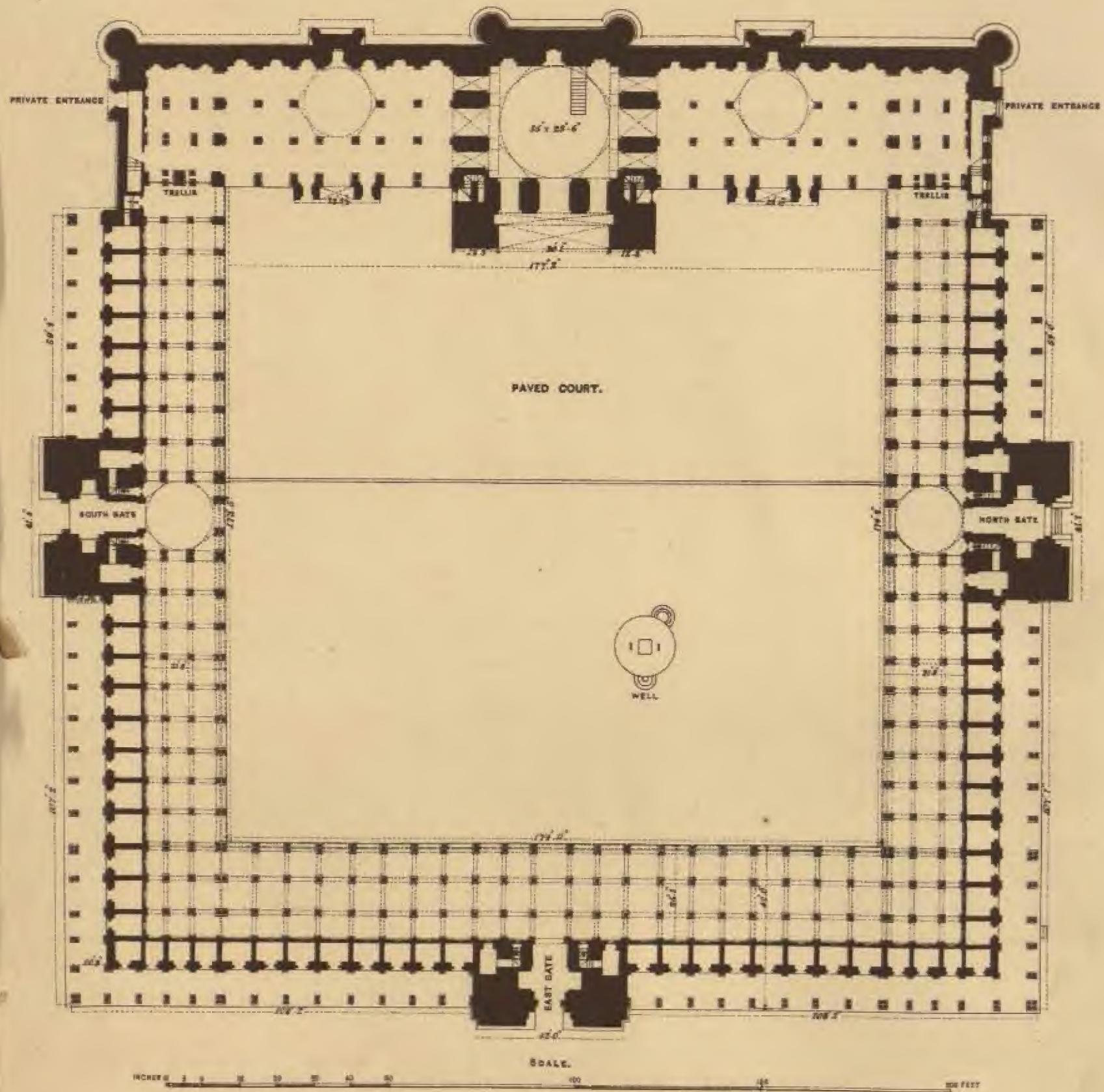
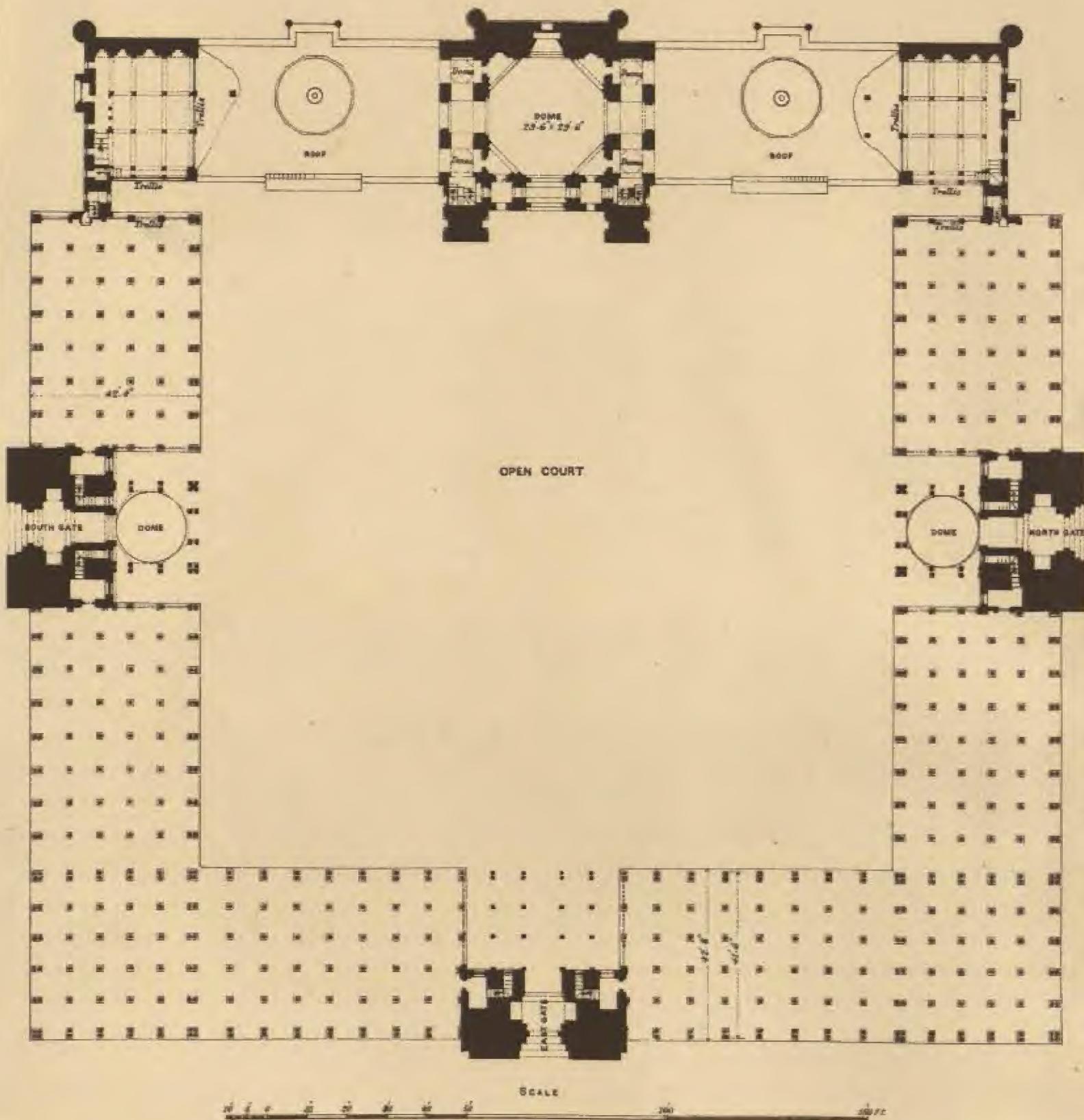


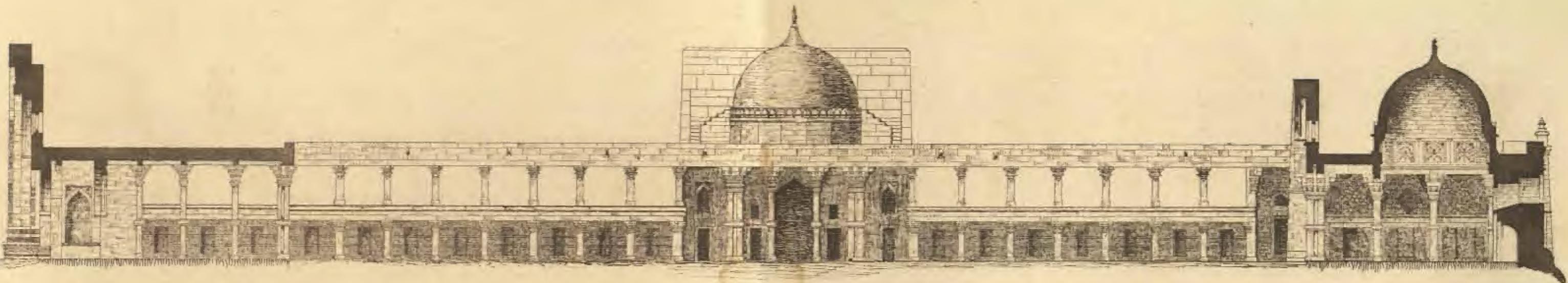
PLATE V.

JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID,—UPPER PLAN.

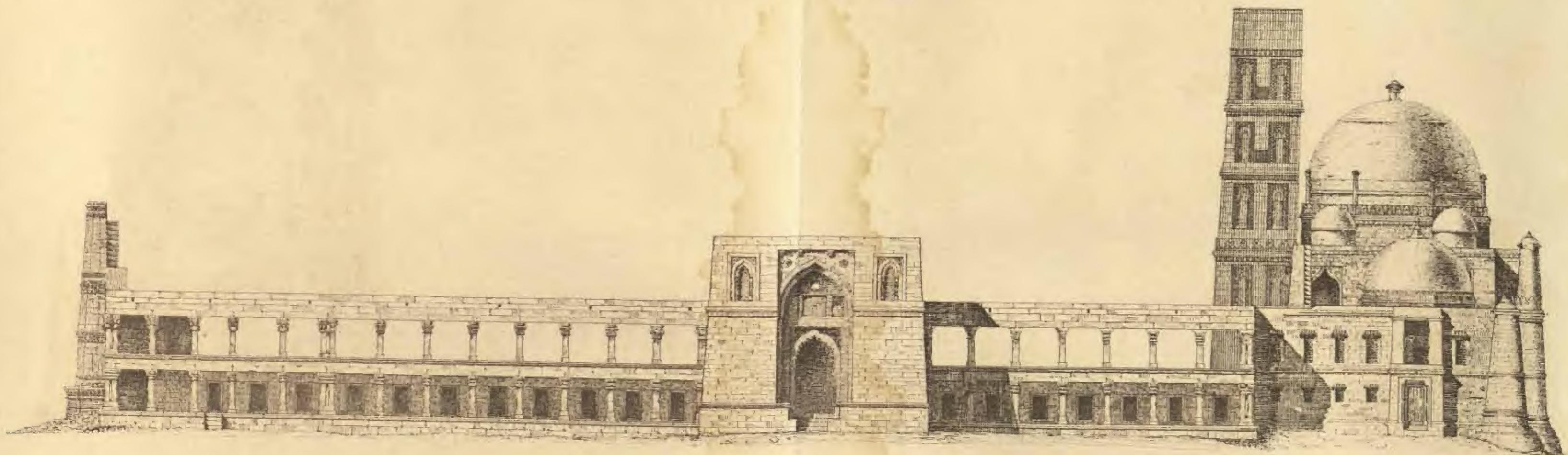


JAUNPUR ATALA MASSID

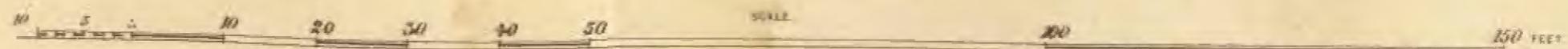
PLATE VI.

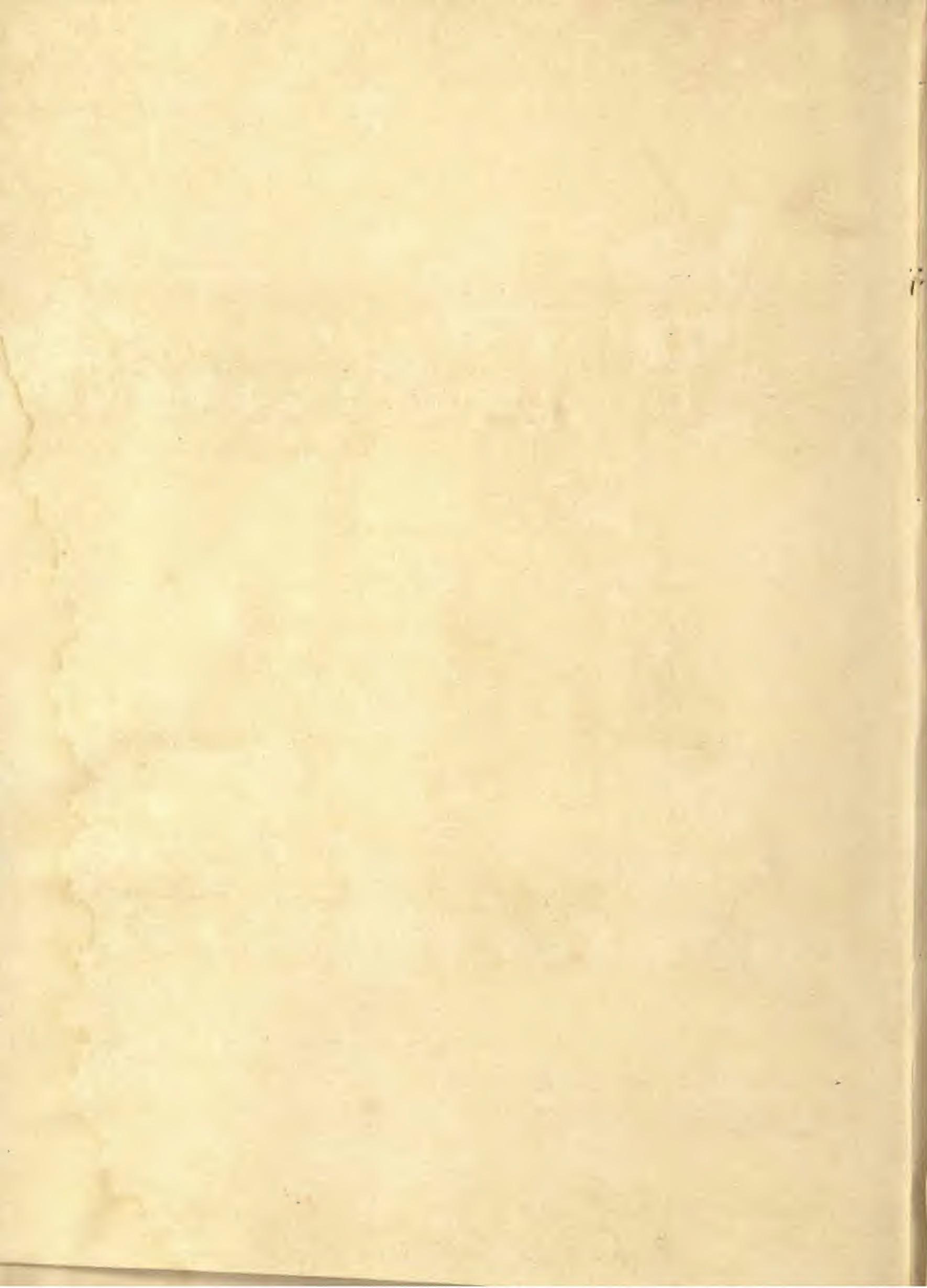


1. SECTION THROUGH EAST ENTRANCE, COURTYARD, & SMALL DOME IN THE SOUTH OF THE MOSQUE.



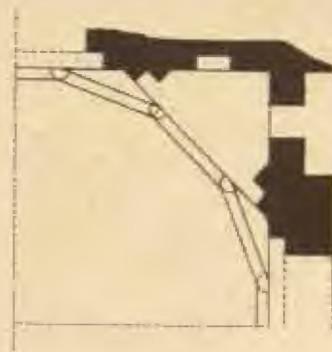
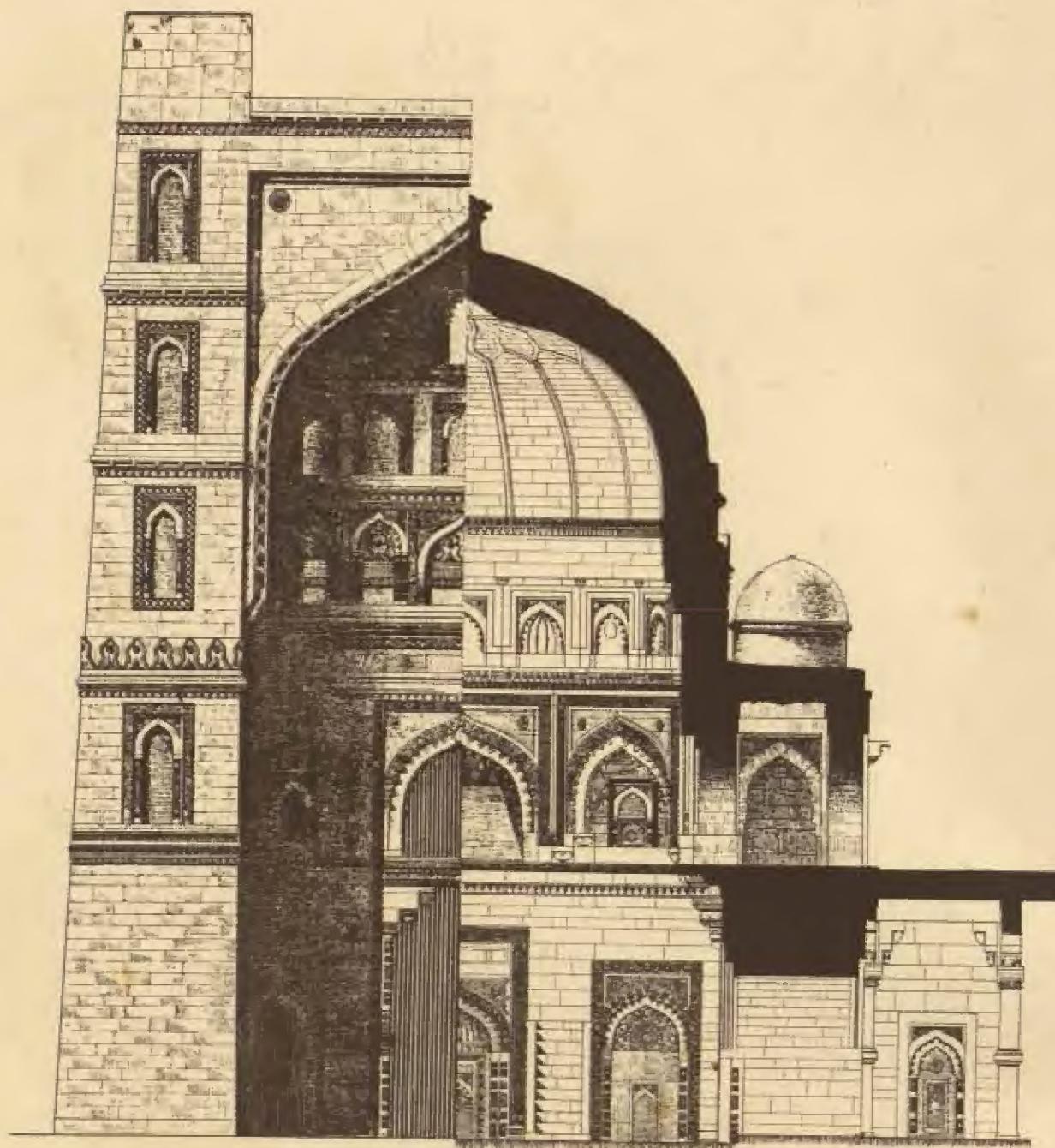
2. EXTERIOR ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE.



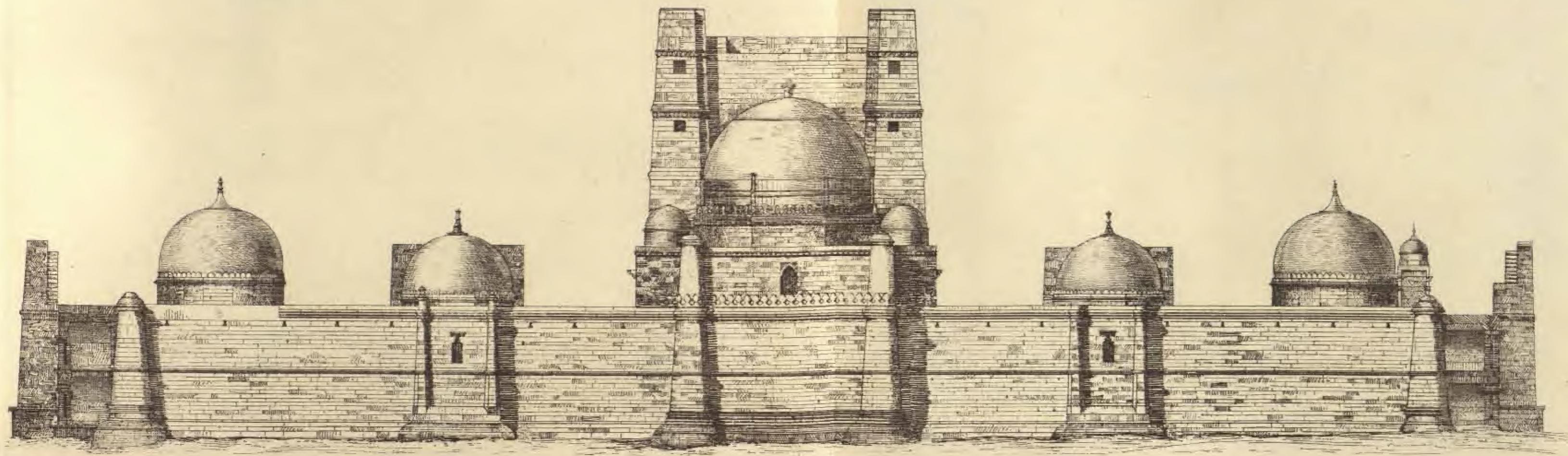


JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.

HALF ELEVATION OF PRINCIPAL PROPYLON AND HALF SECTION OF GREAT DOME.

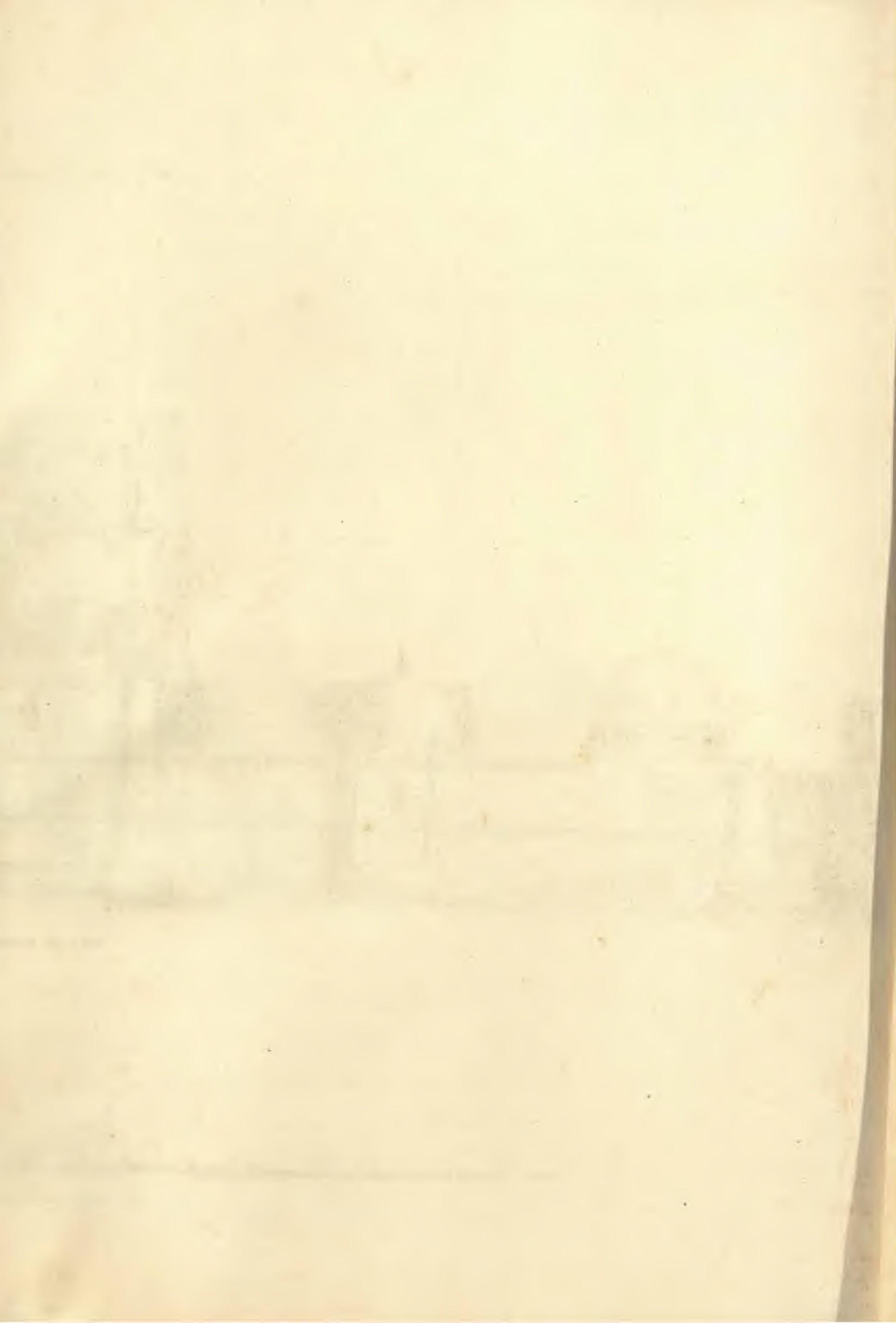


JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.



WEST OR BACK ELEVATION.

INCHES. 10 20 30 40 50
FEET. 100 150 FEET.



JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.—TWO BAYS UNDER THE GREAT DOME.

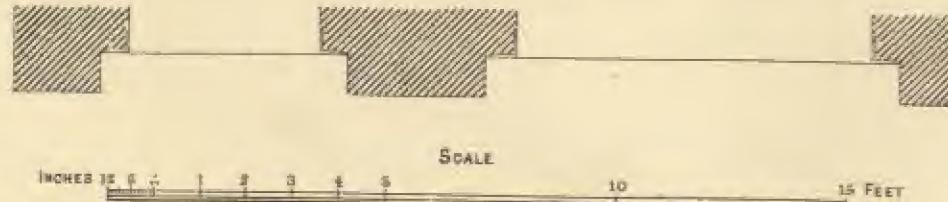
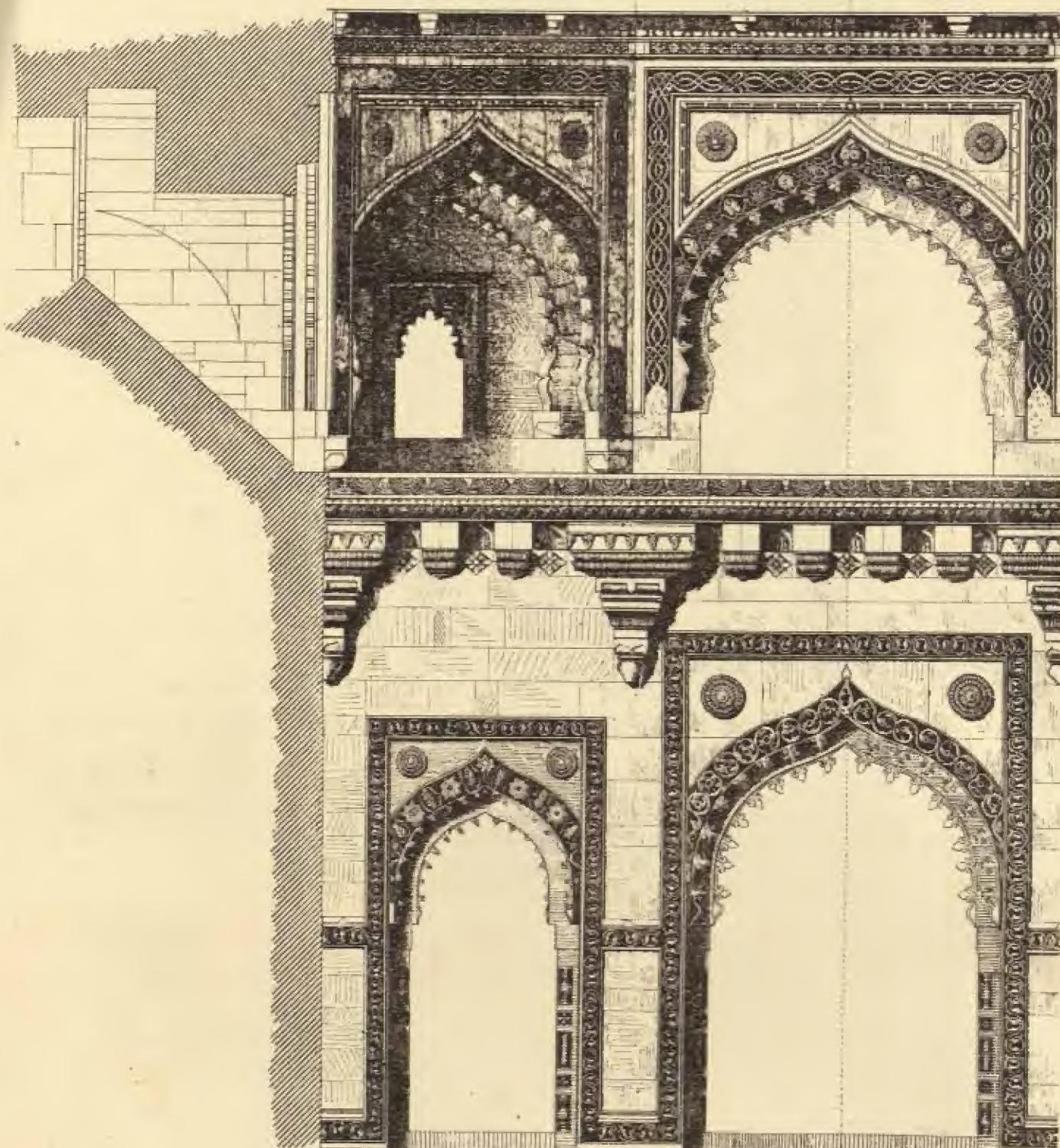
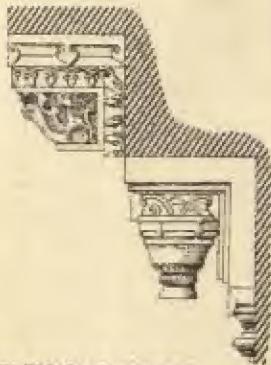
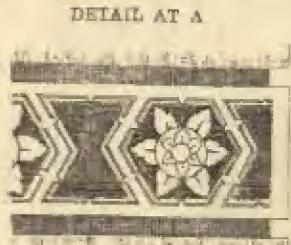


PLATE X

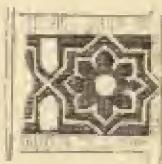
JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID,—SIDE ELEVATION OF CENTRAL ARCHED ENTRANCE.



ELEVATION OF CORBEL

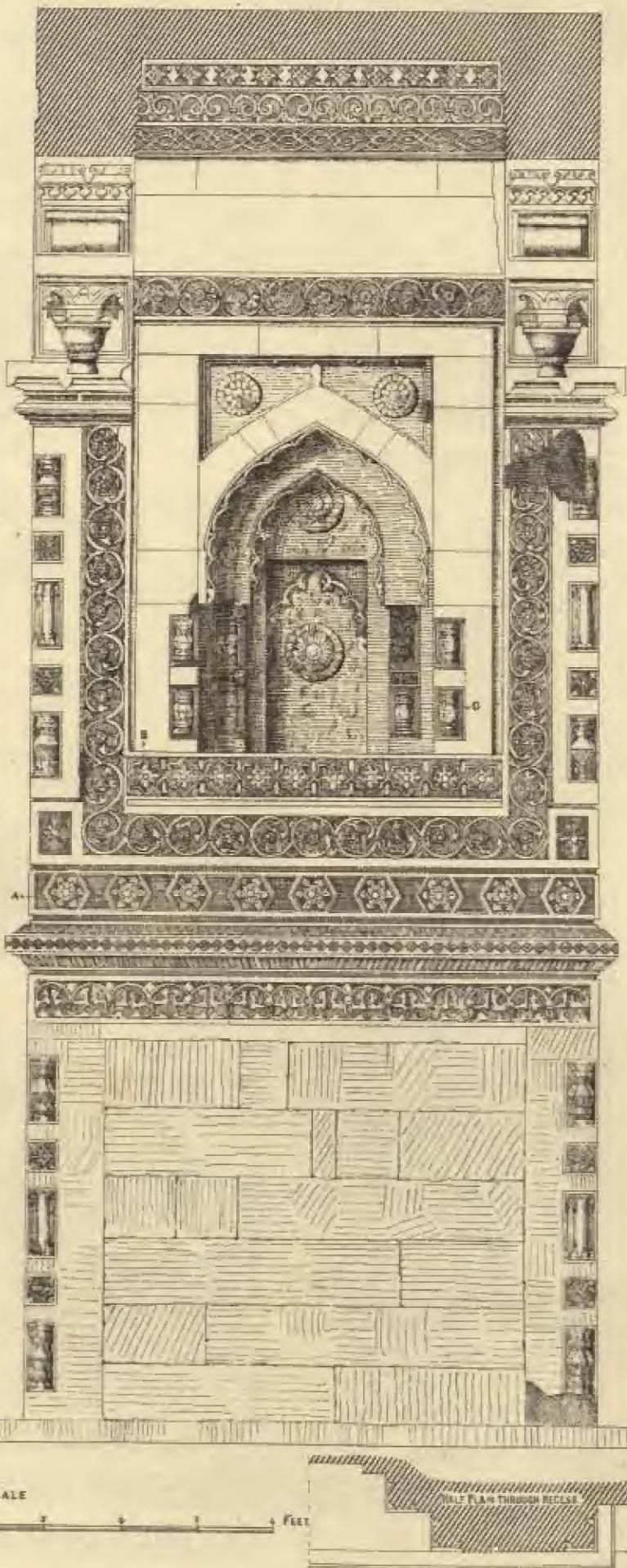


DETAIL AT A

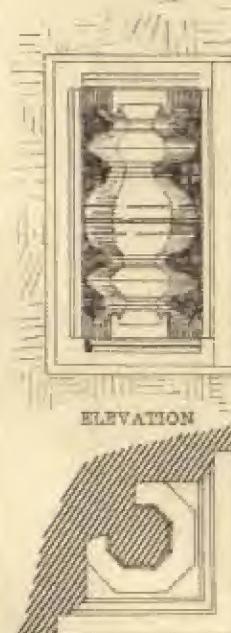


DETAIL AT B

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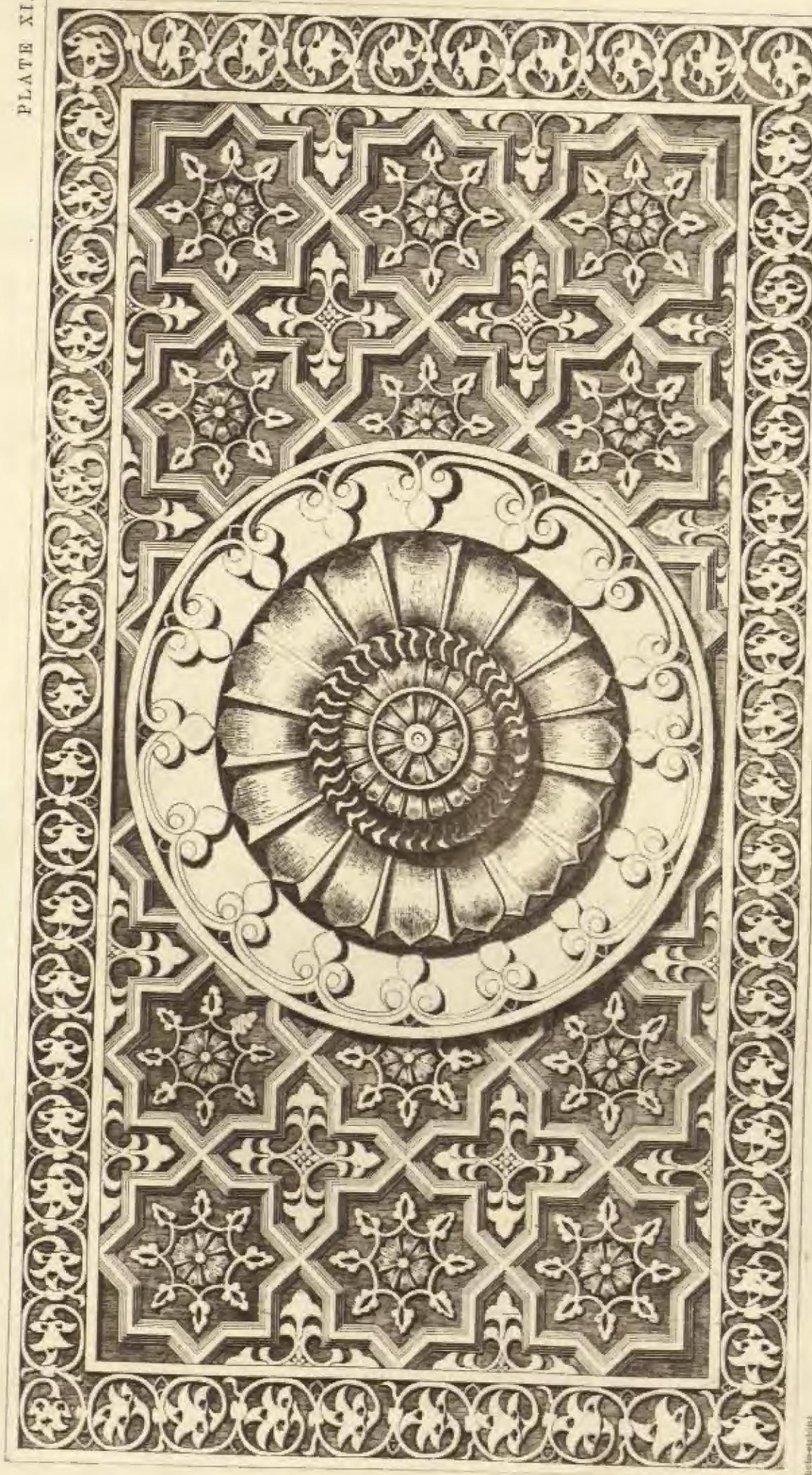
DETAIL OF BALUSTERS AT C.



ELEVATION

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Survey of India's Office, Calcutta, December 1892

Archaeological Survey of India

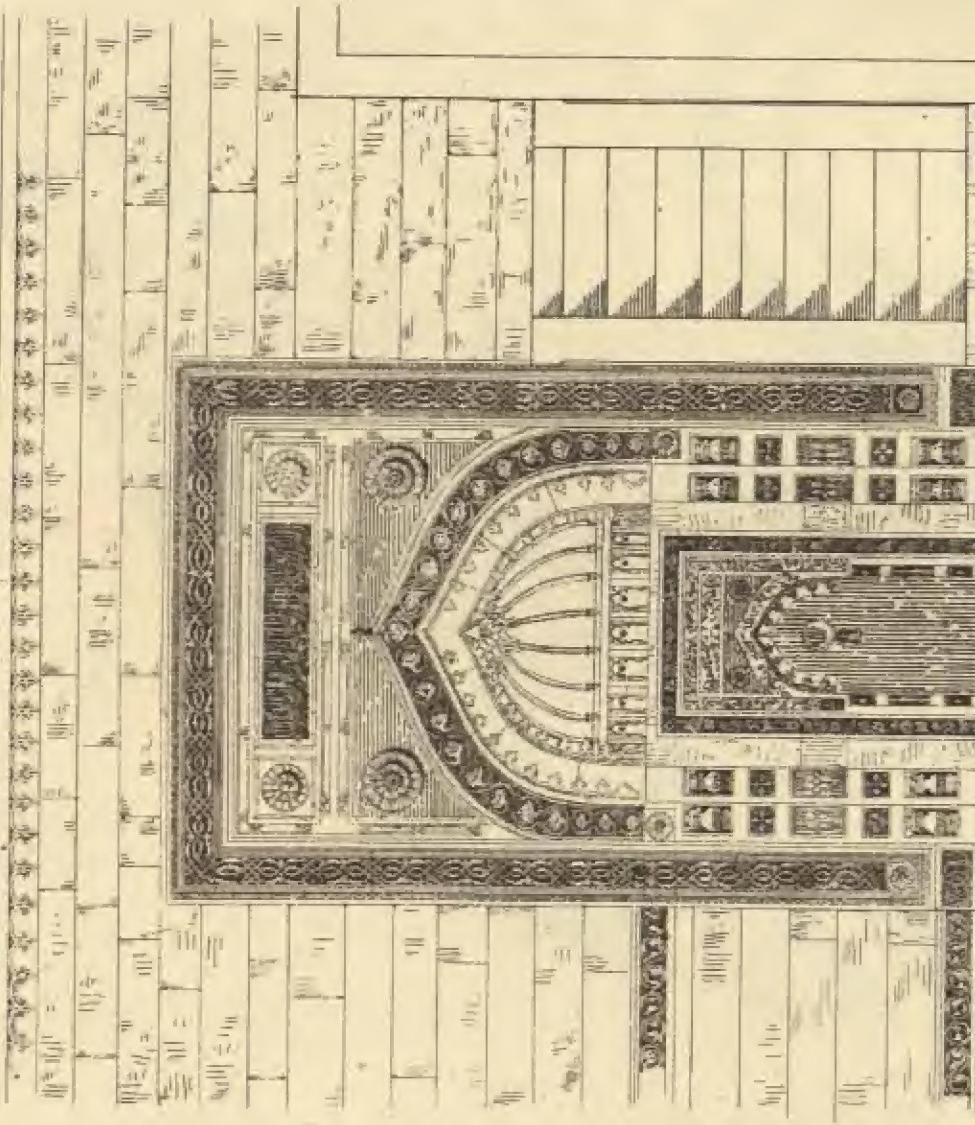
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JAUNPUR: ATALA MASSJID,—PRINCIPAL MIHRAB AND MIMBAR.

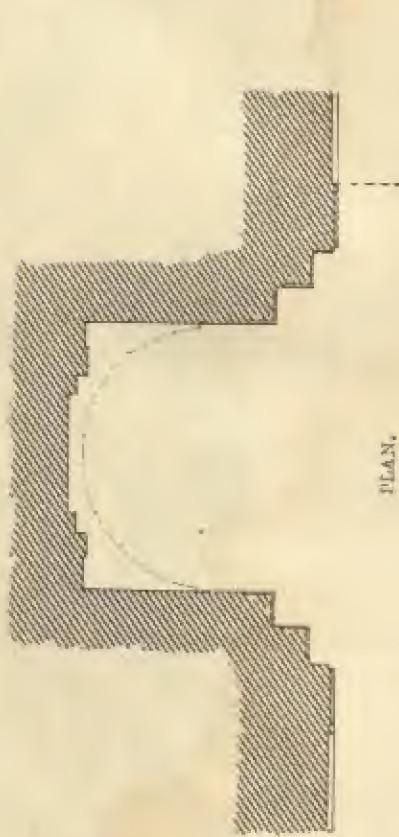
PLATE XII.



ELEVATION.

MIMBAR.

SITUATION.

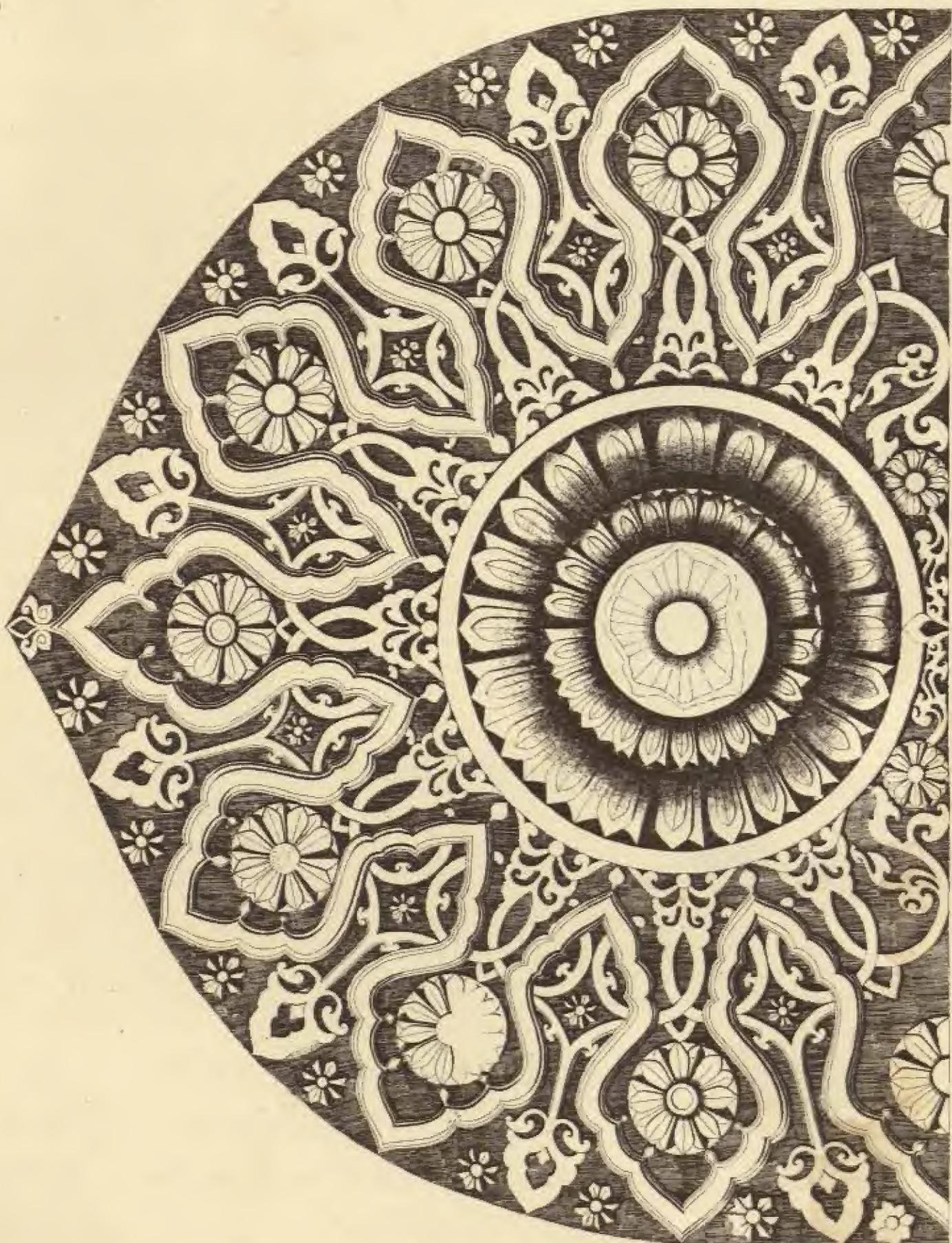


PLAN.



FEET.

INCHES.



Archaeological Survey of India.

Photo: A. E. G. 1880

FOOT.

SCALE.

Survey of India Office Calcutta February 1880

TYMPANUM OF THE RECESSSES ON EACH SIDE THE PRINCIPAL MIHRAB.

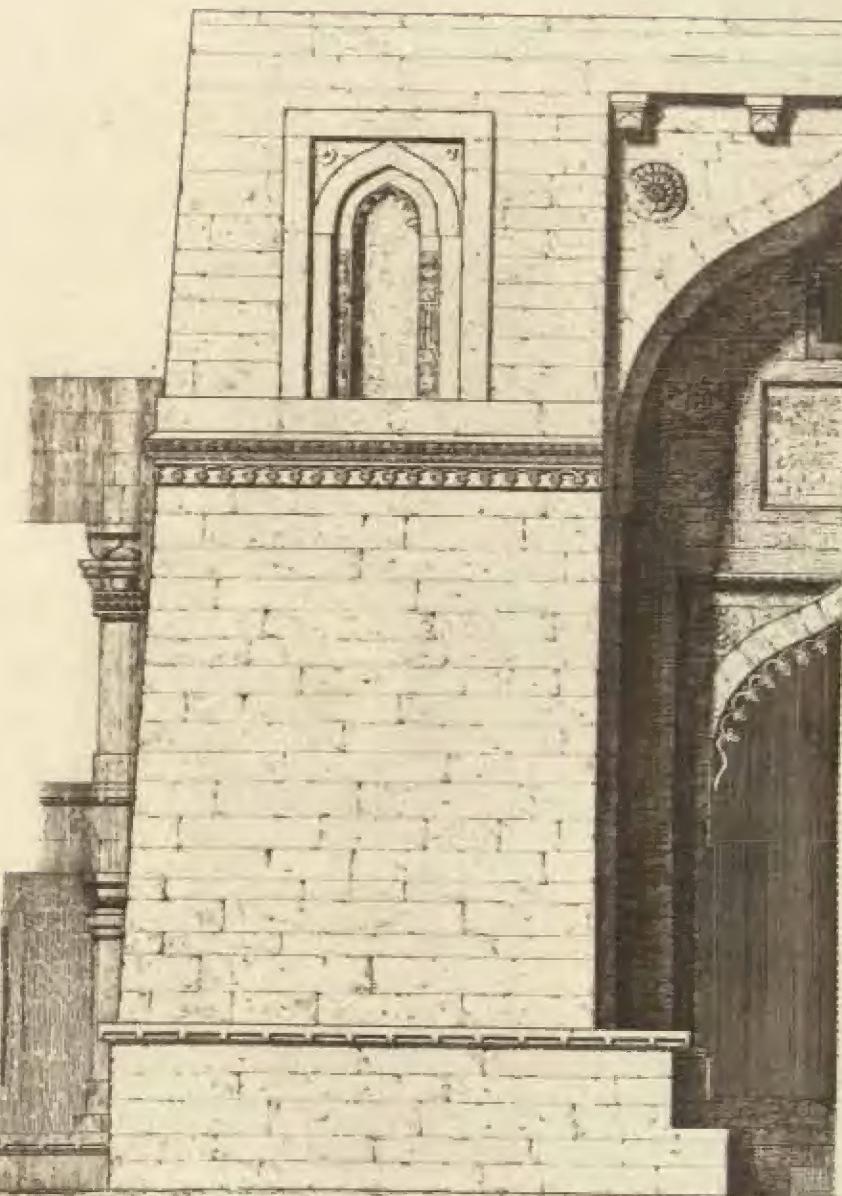
EDWARD W. SMITH,
Architectural Artist.

Printed from a transfer to stone in the Photographic Office, Survey of India Department, Calcutta, July 1880.

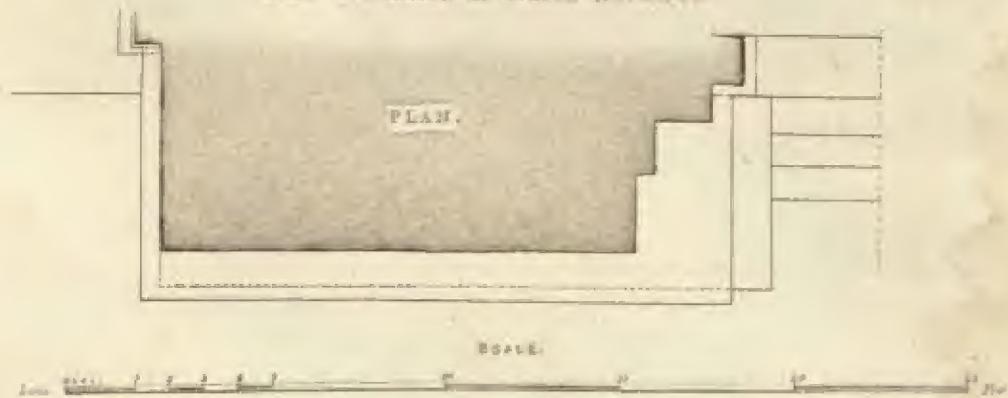


JAUKPUR ATABA MASJID.

PLATE XIV.



HALF ELEVATION OF NORTH ENTRANCE.



JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID

Half Elevation of Principal or East Entrance

PLATE XV.

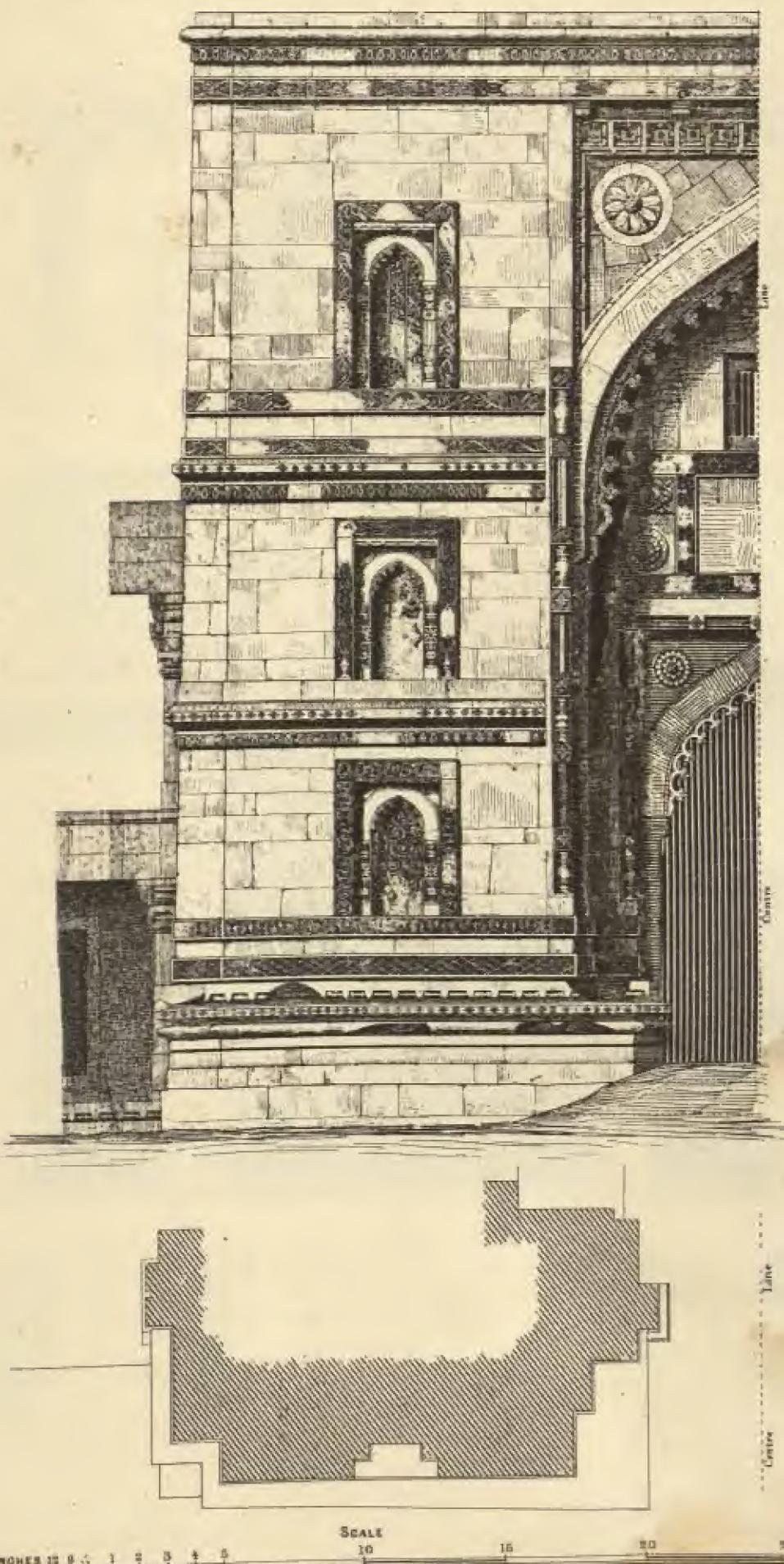
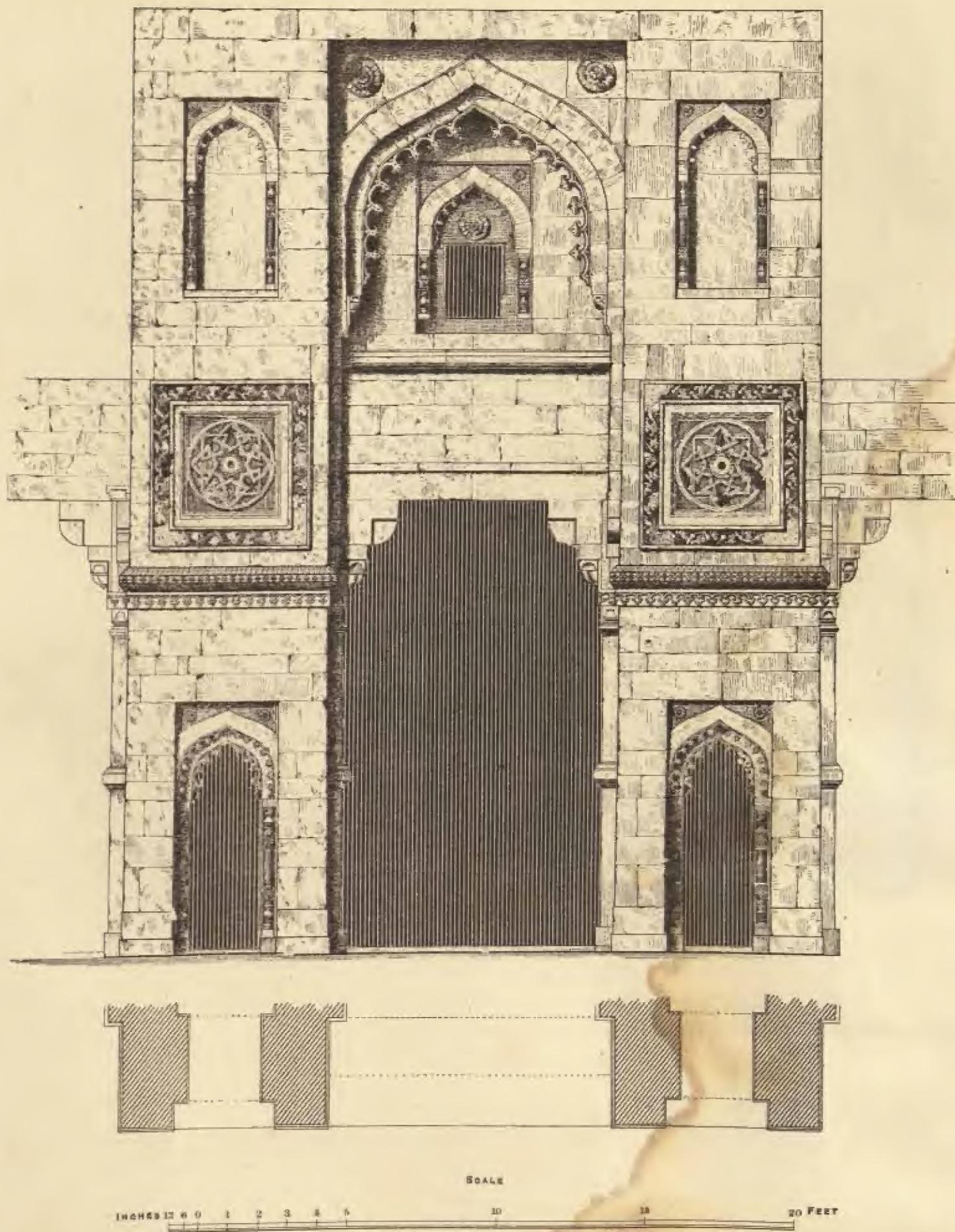
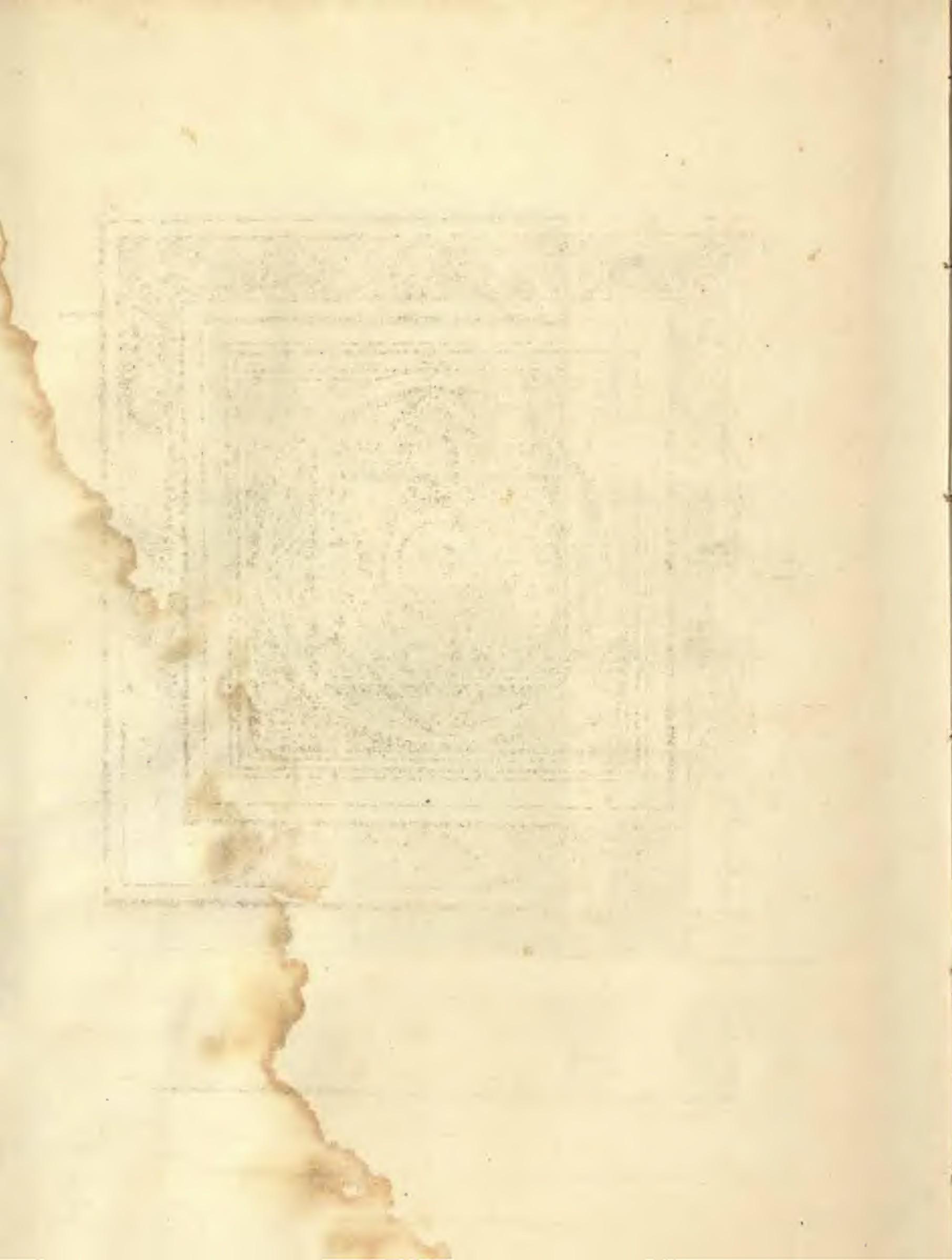


PLATE XVI.

JAUNPUR, ATALA MASJID.

SOUTH PROPTYLON OF THE MASJID.





JAUNPUR ATALA MASJID

PLATE XXI



Survey of India Office Calcutta February 1877

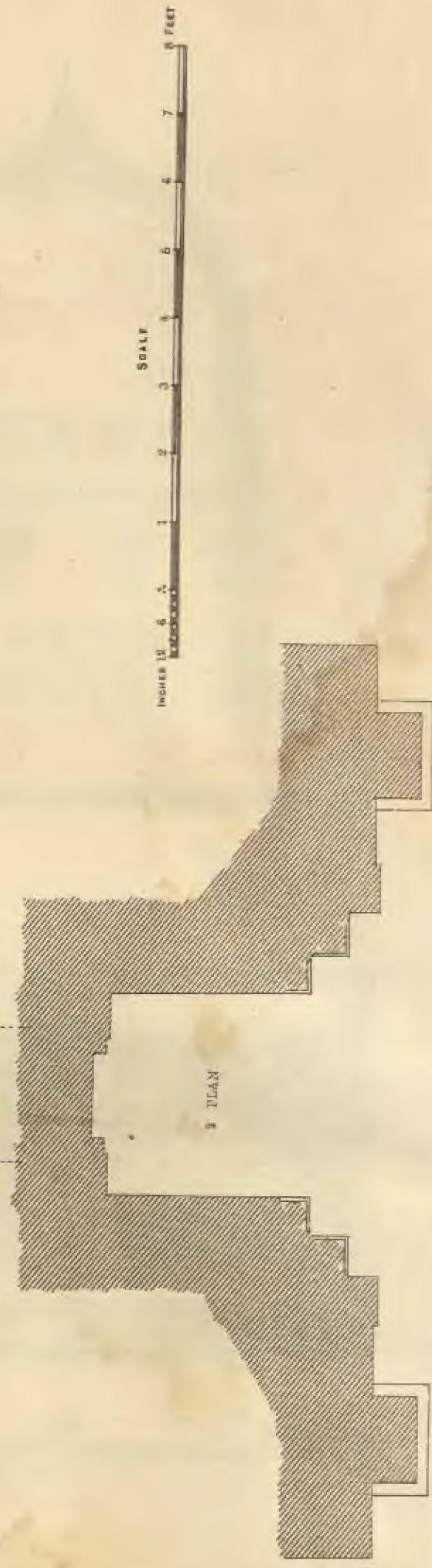
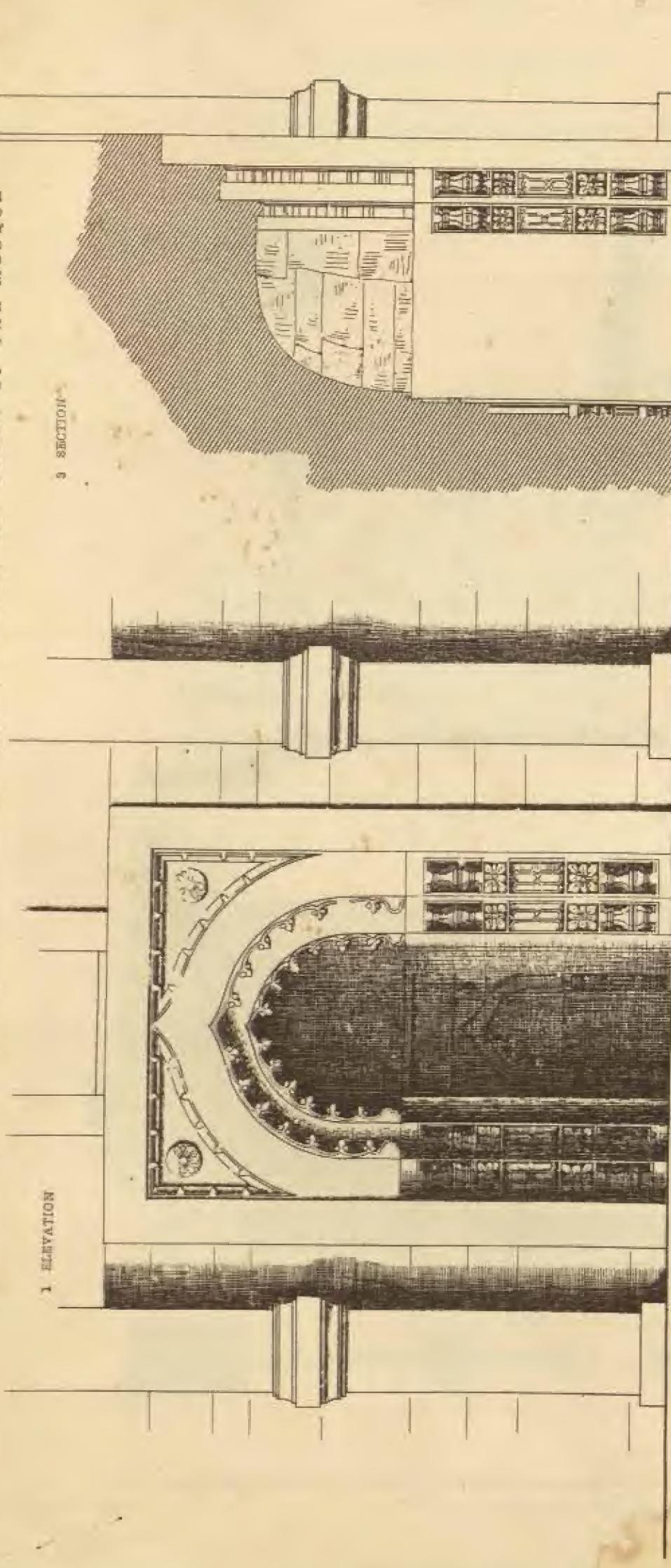
Scale of Five

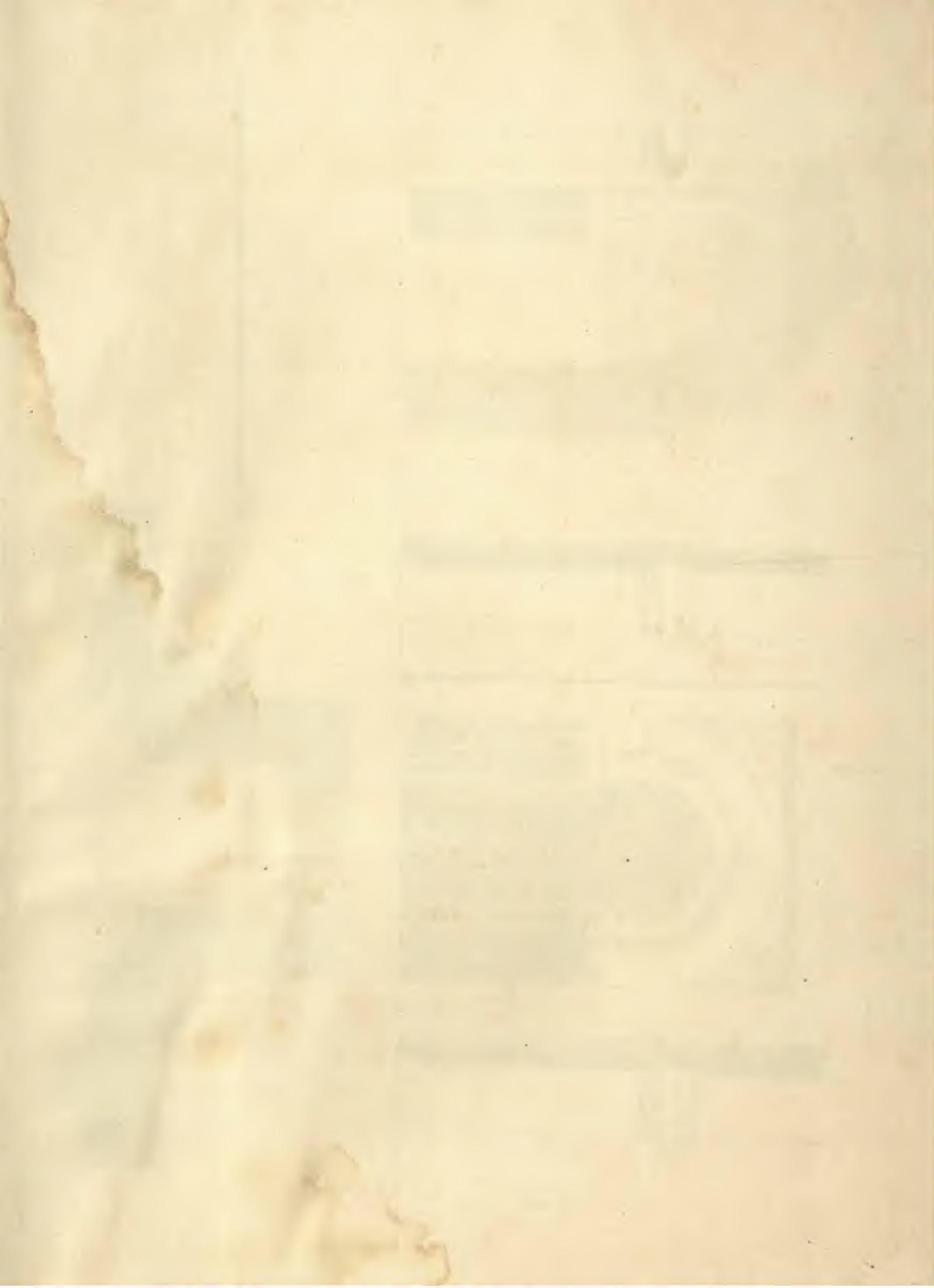
Feet

PANEL ON THE SOUTHERN SMALLER PROPYLAEON OF THE MOSQUE

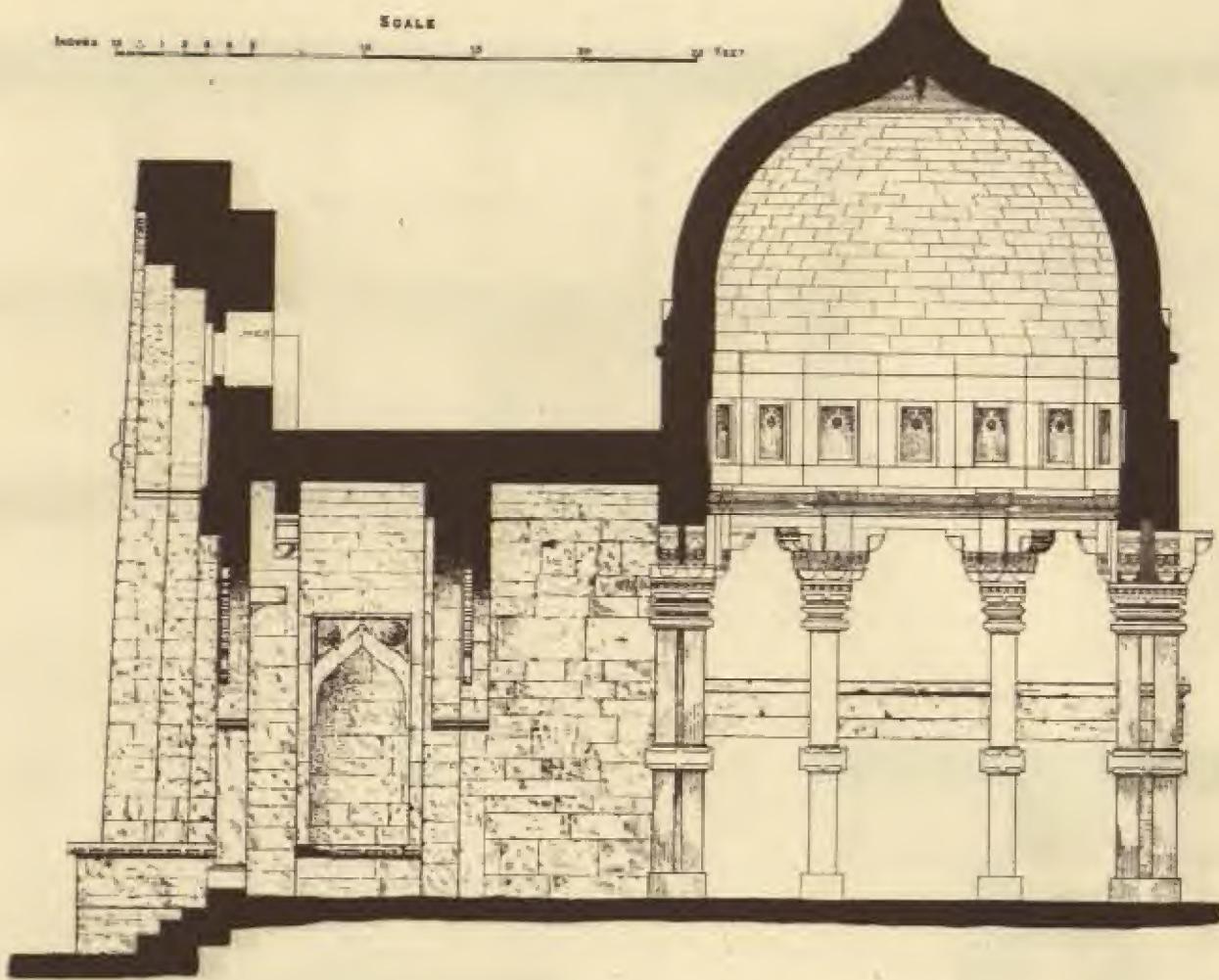


PLATE XVIII
JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID,--MIHRAB UNDER SMALL DOME IN THE SOUTH OF THE MOSQUE

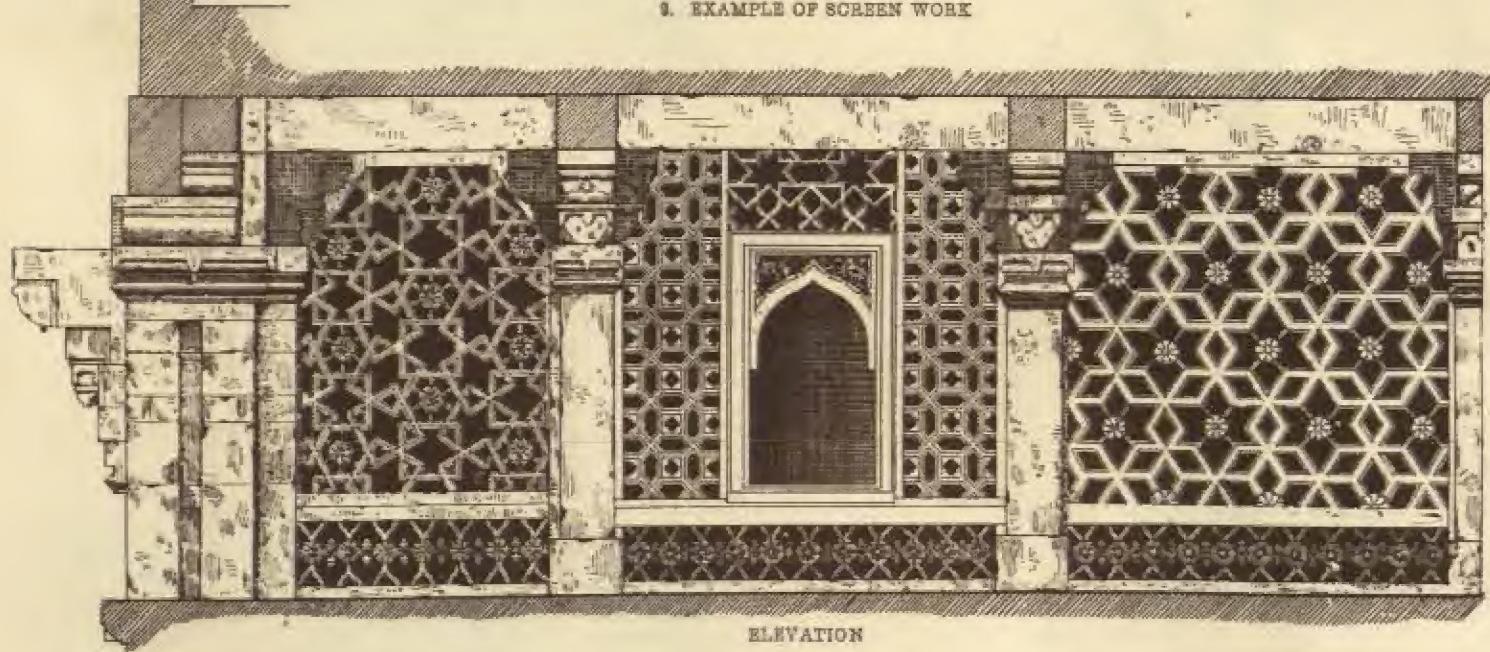




1. SECTION THROUGH THE NORTH GATEWAY

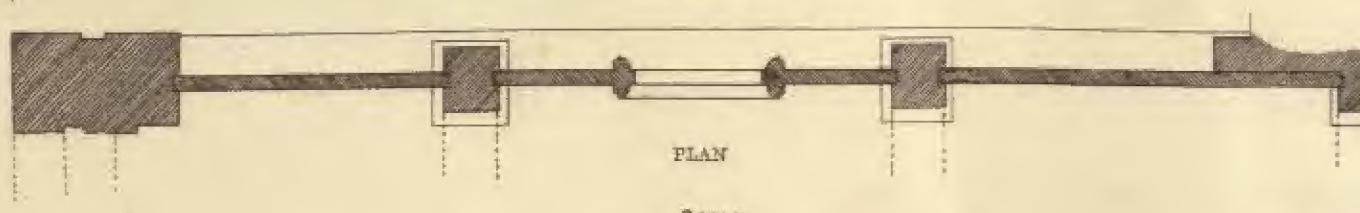


2. EXAMPLE OF SCREEN WORK



ELEVATION

PLAN

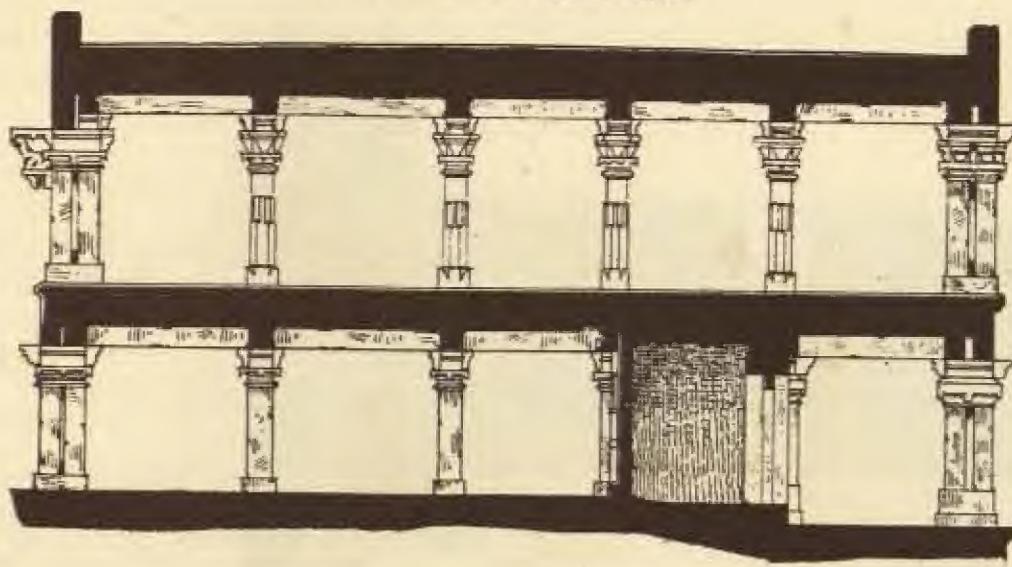


E. W. SMITH
Architectural Ass't.

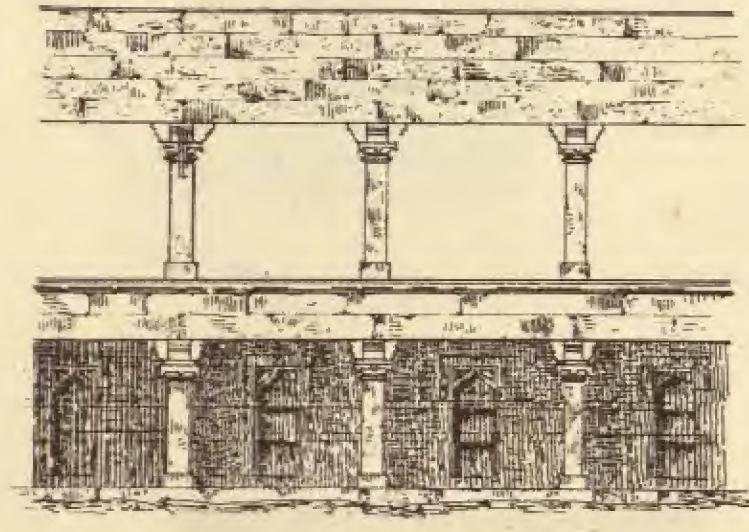
JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID

PLATE XX

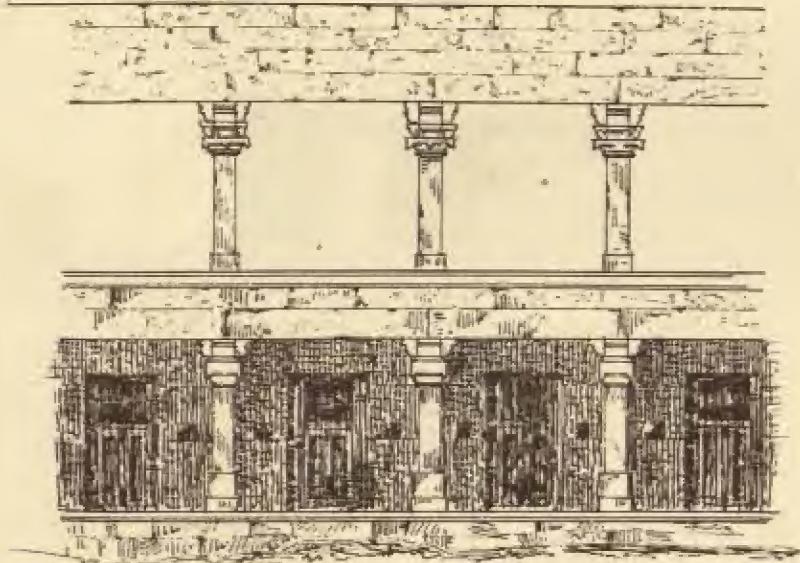
1. SECTION THROUGH THE CORRIDORS



2. ELEVATION.

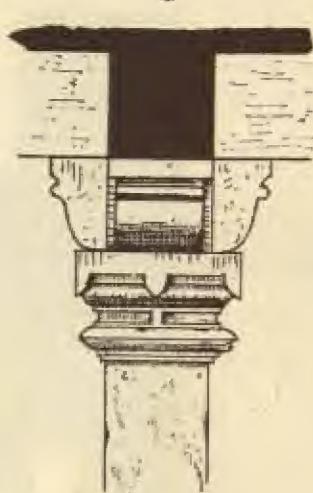


3.

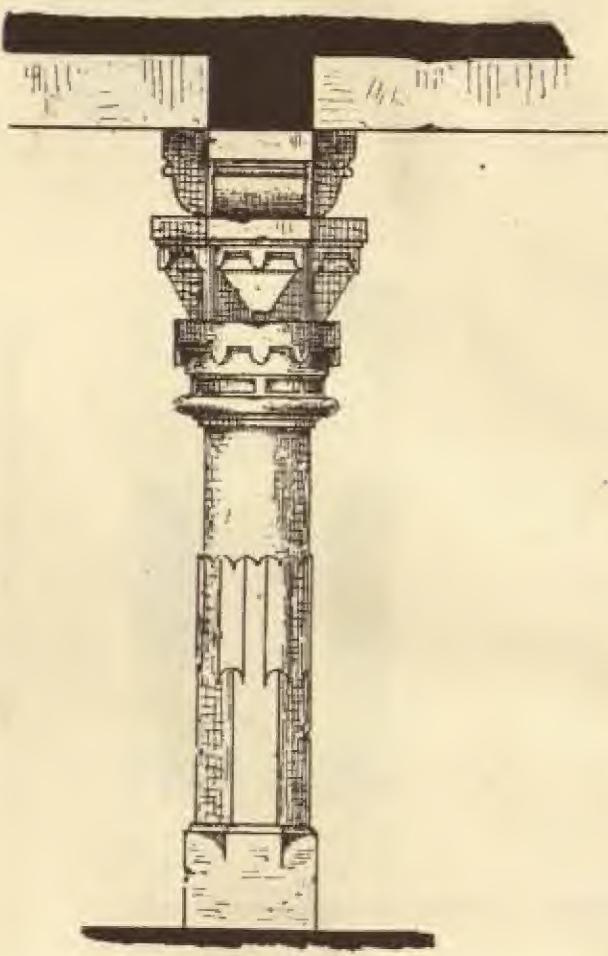


SCALE

10 5 10 20 FEET



4. PILLAR.

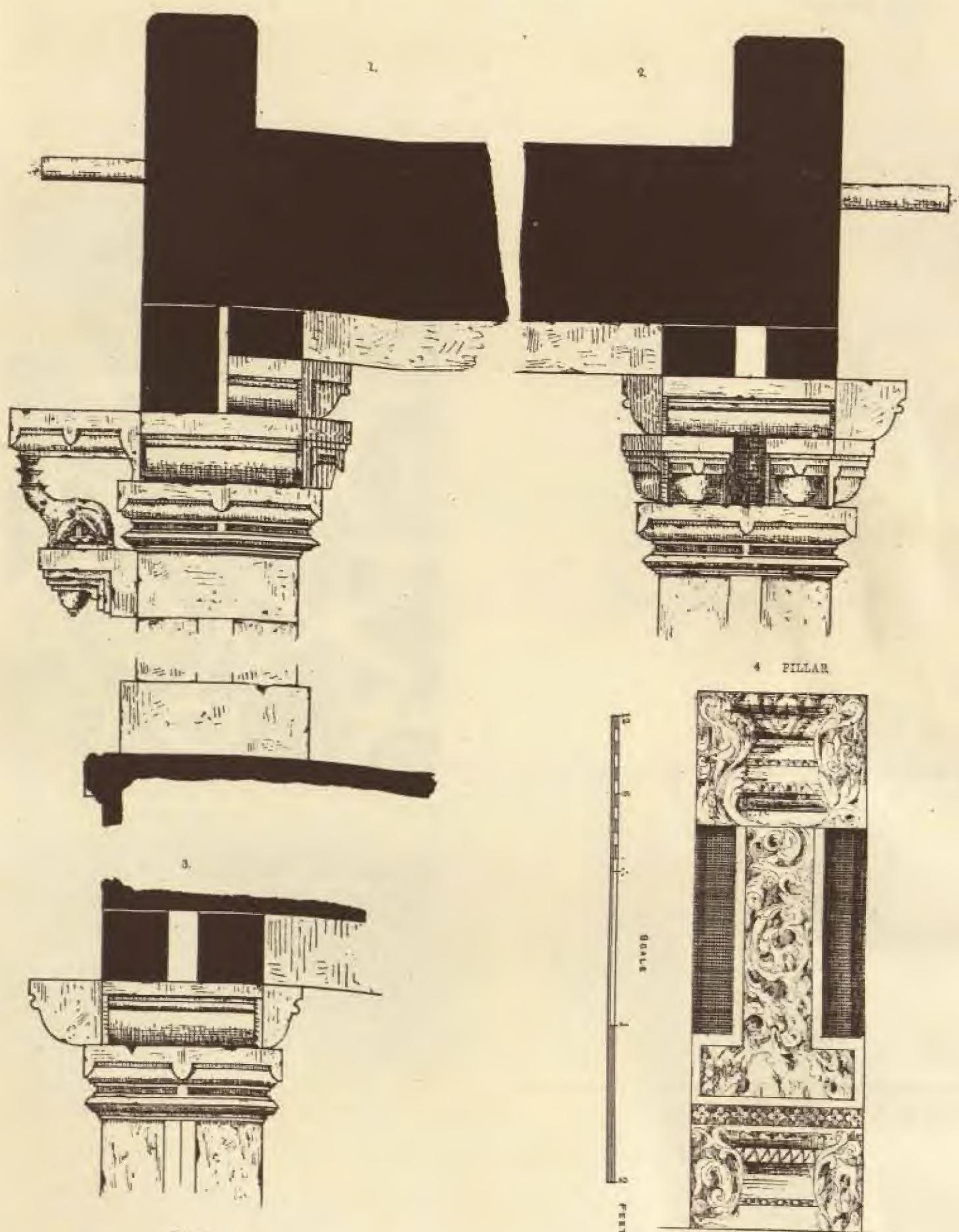


SCALE

10 5 10 20 FEET

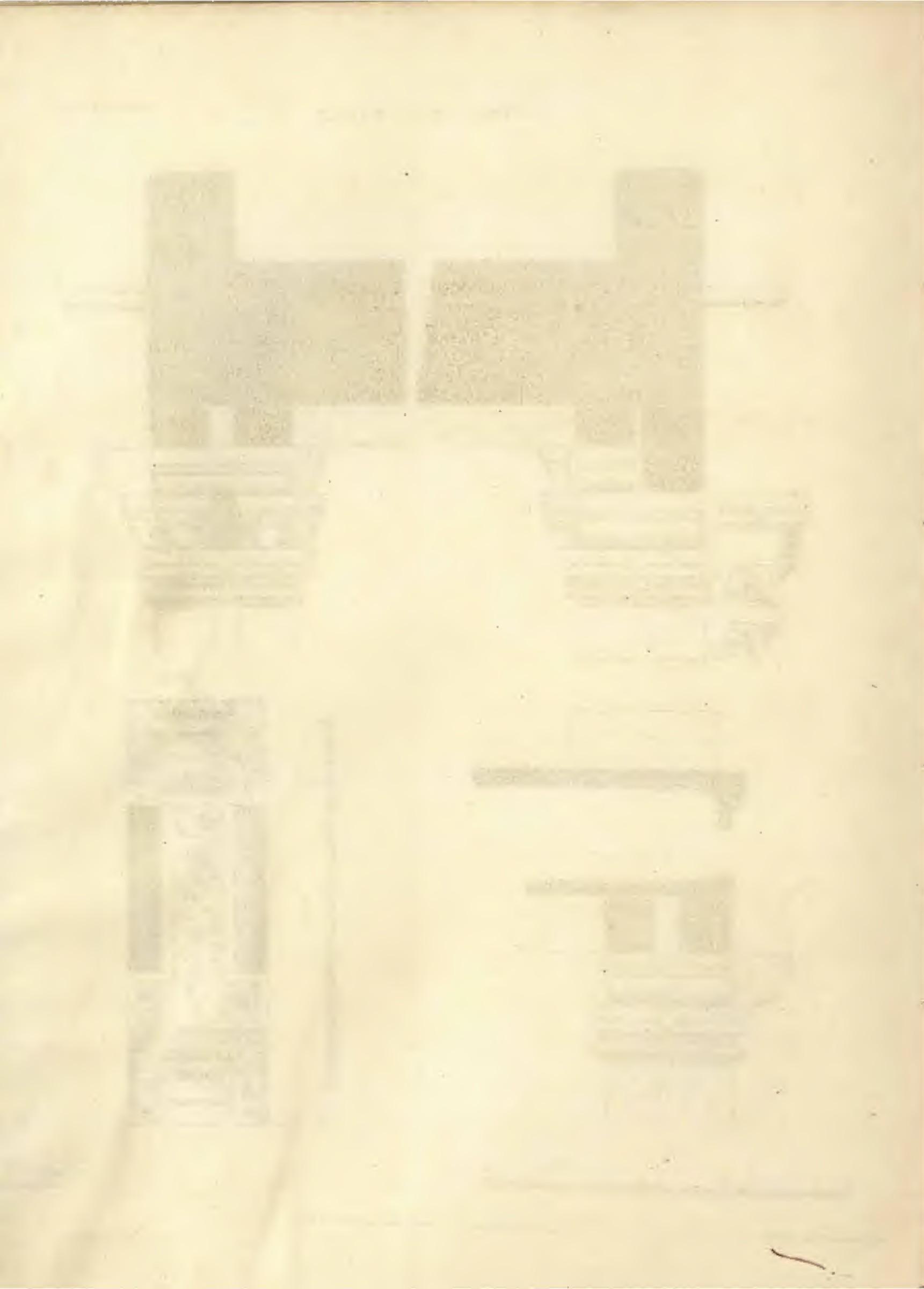
JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID

PLATE XXI



SCALE
12 6 4 1 3 3 4 5 FEET

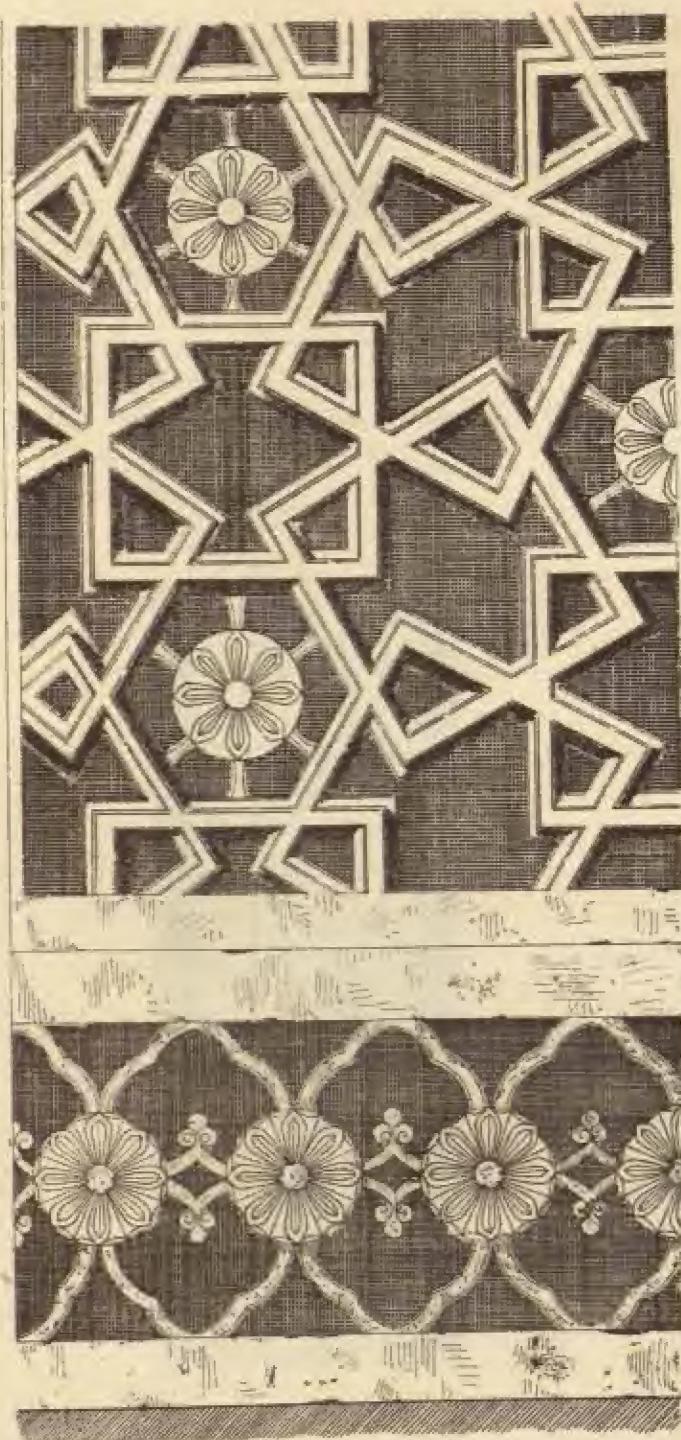
R. W. SMITH,
Architectural Ant.



JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.

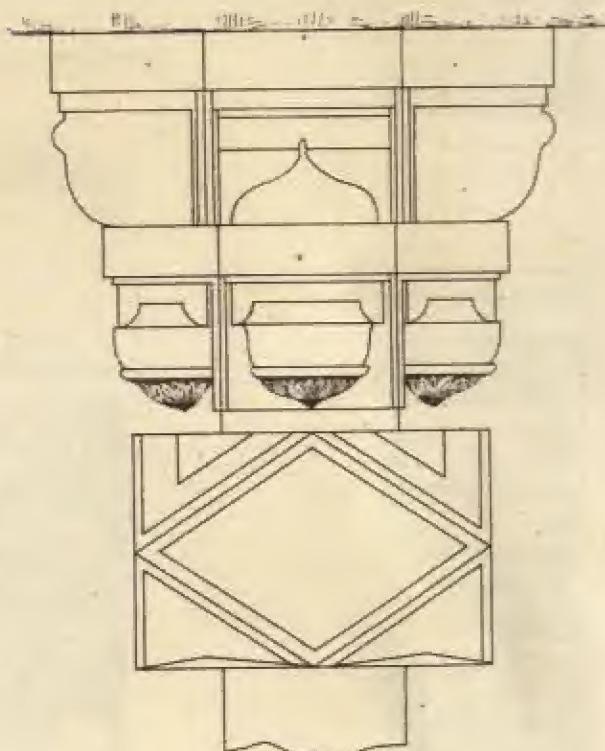
PLATE XXII.

1. DETAIL OF SCREEN WORK ON PLATE XIX.

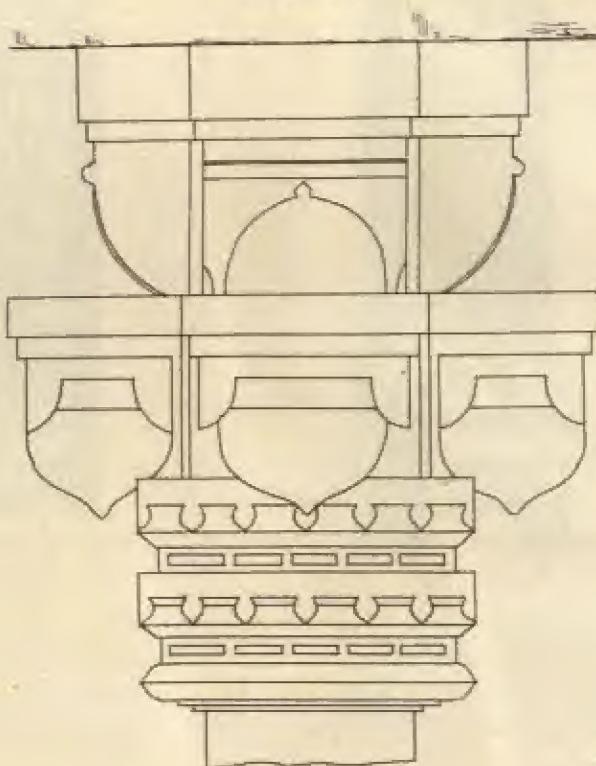


ELEVATION

2. CAPITAL OF PILLAR.



3. CAPITAL



SCALE

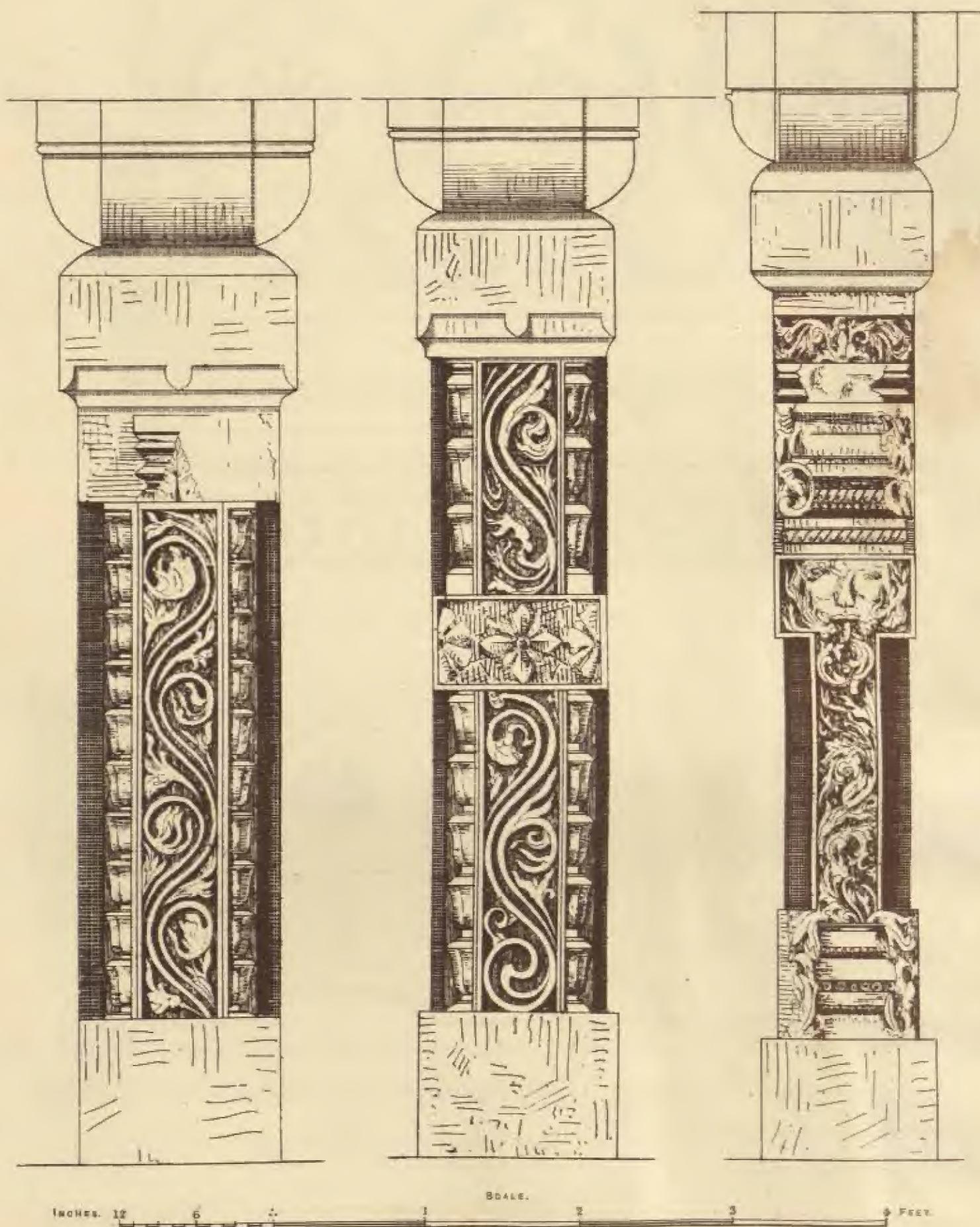
FEET

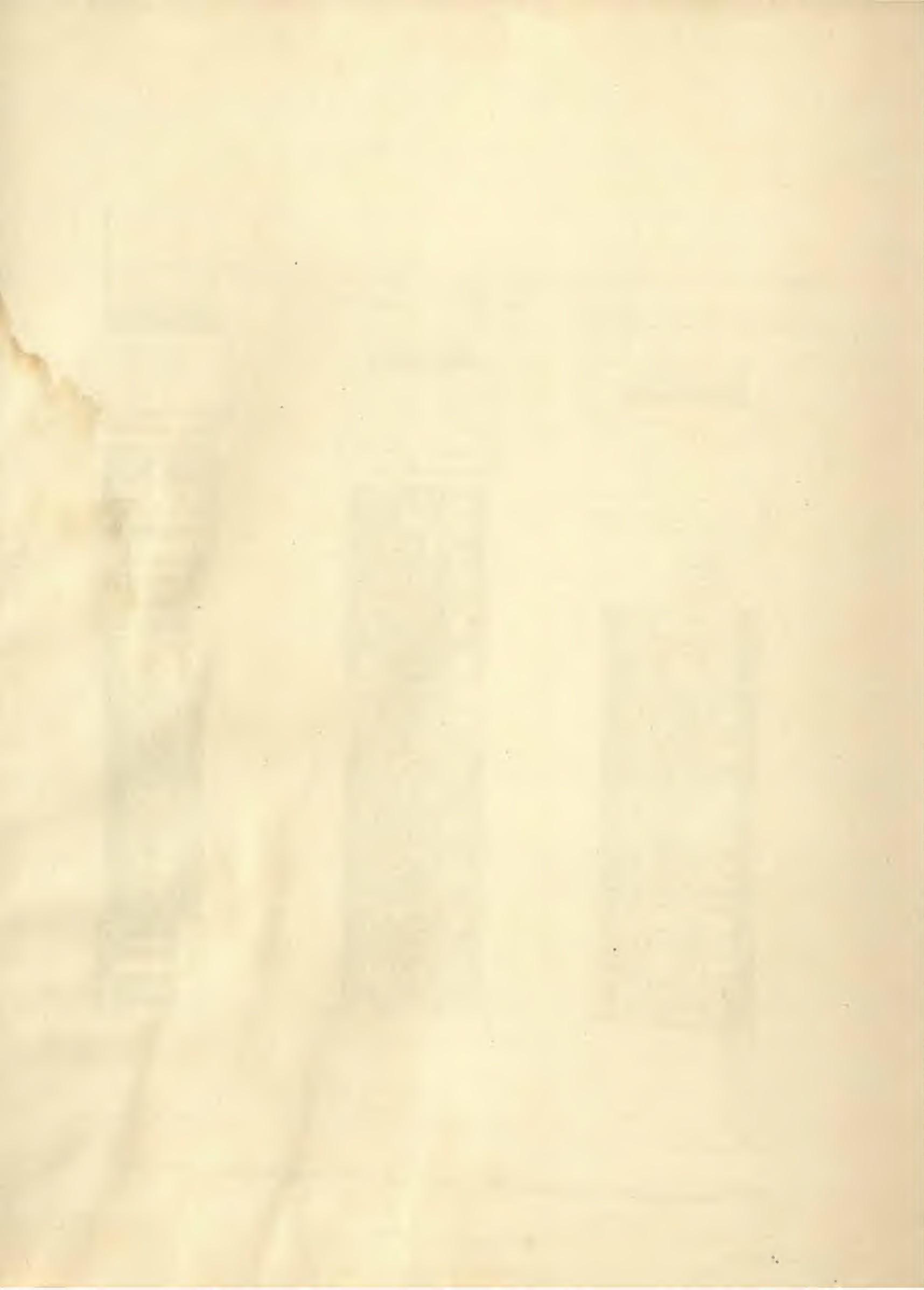
INCHES 12 10 8 6 4 2 0

FOOT INCHES 12 10 8 6 4 2 0

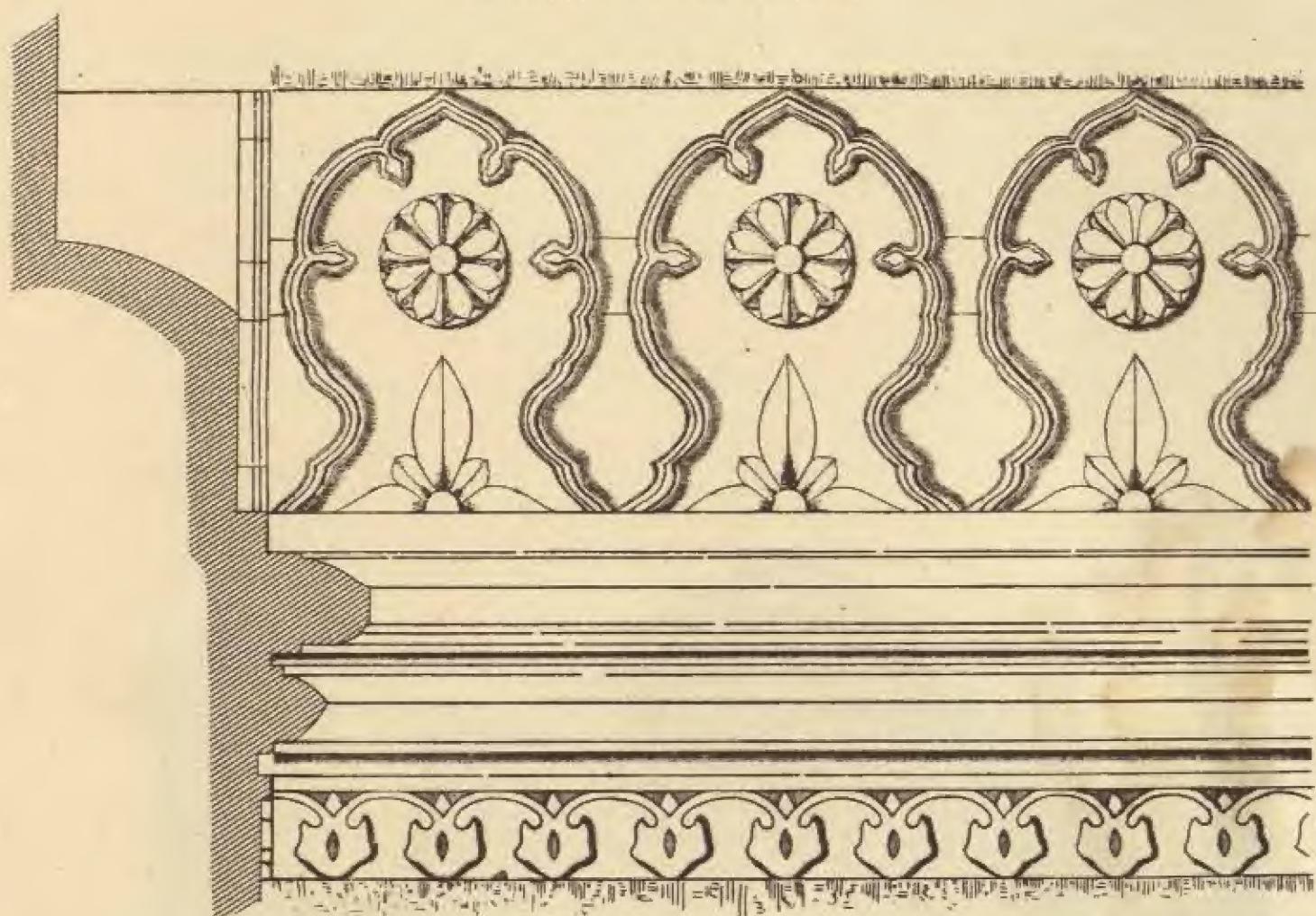
PLATE XXIII.

JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.—EXAMPLES OF PILLARS.

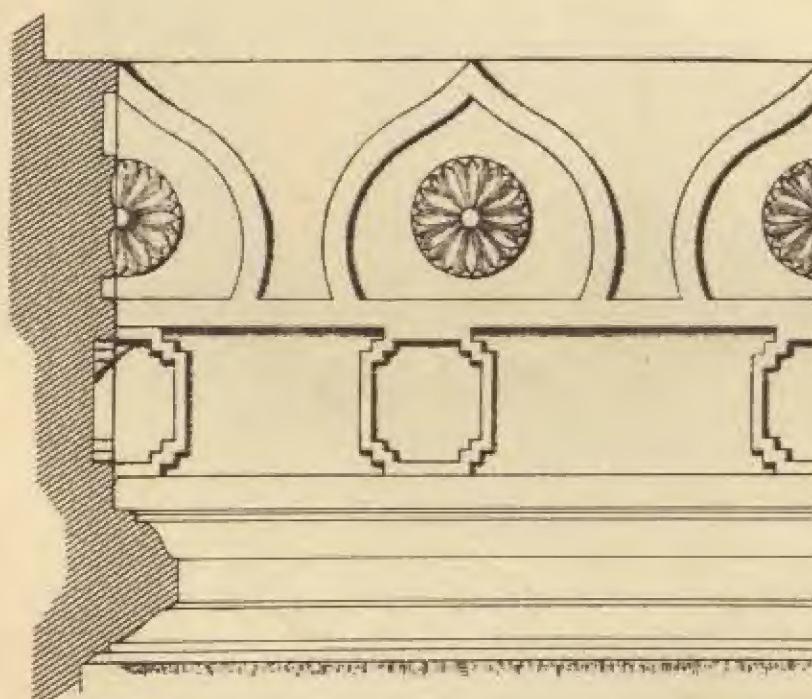




JAUNPUR: ATALA MASJID.



1. EXTERNAL CORNICE ROUND THE BASE OF THE GREAT DOME.

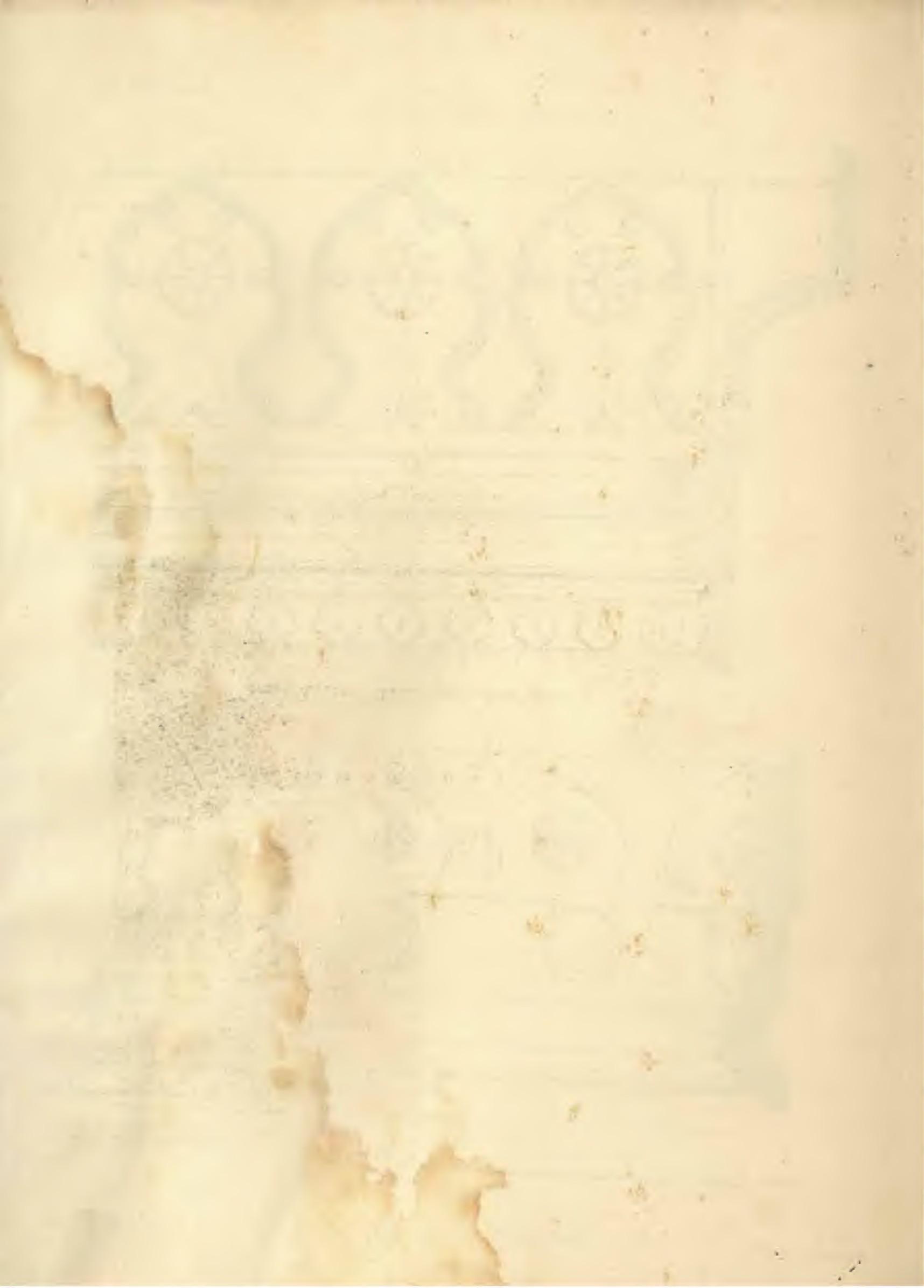


2. ELEVATION OF BANDS AROUND SPRINGING OF SMALL DOMES.

SCALE.
INCHES. 0 1 2 3 FEET.

SCALE.
INCHES. 0 1 2 3 FEET.

3. BAND AROUND UPPER PORTION OF CENTRAL BAY ON WEST EXTERIOR ELEVATION.





Photograph.

Survey of India Office Calcutta, February 1888

JAUNPUR THE JAHANERI MASJID

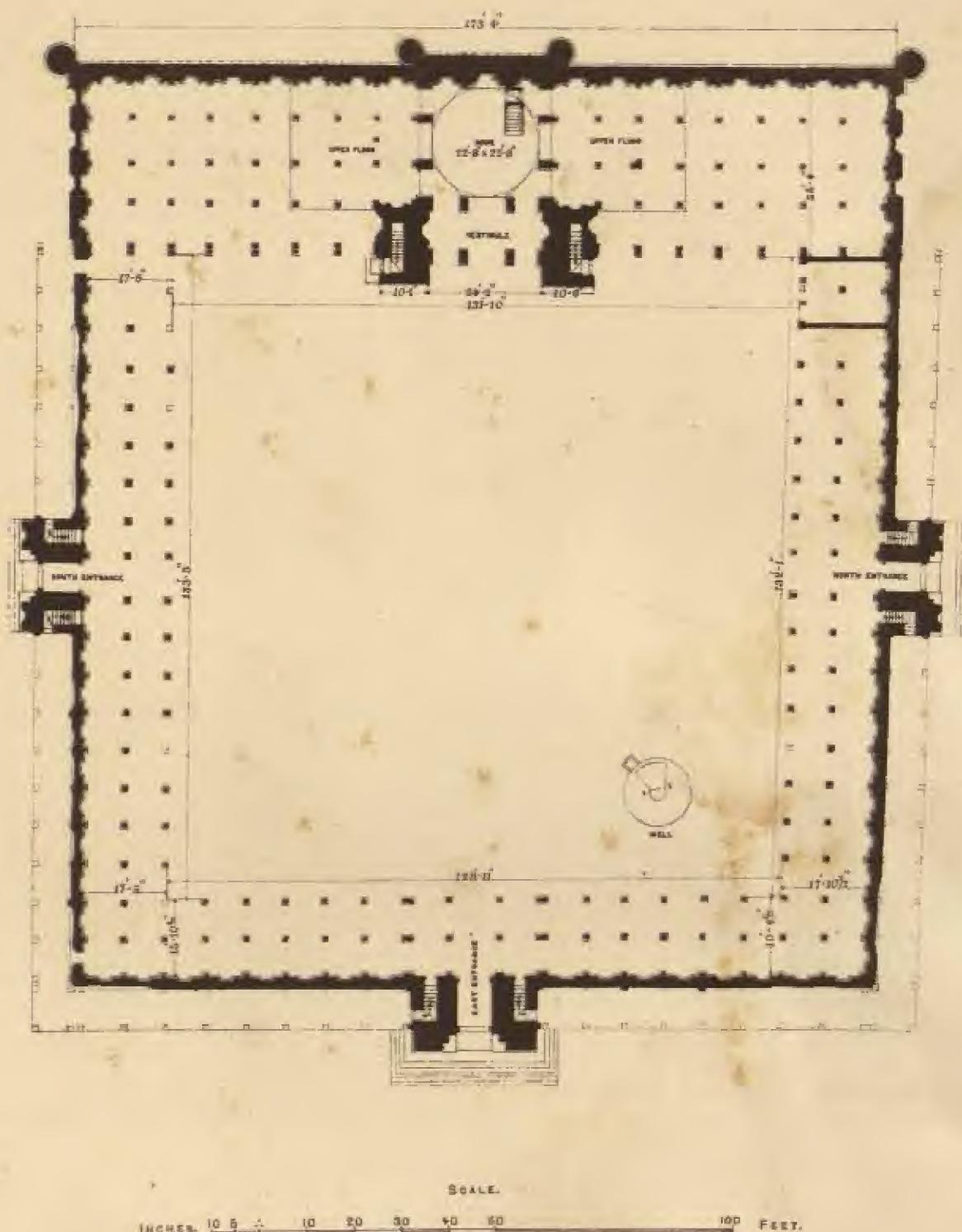


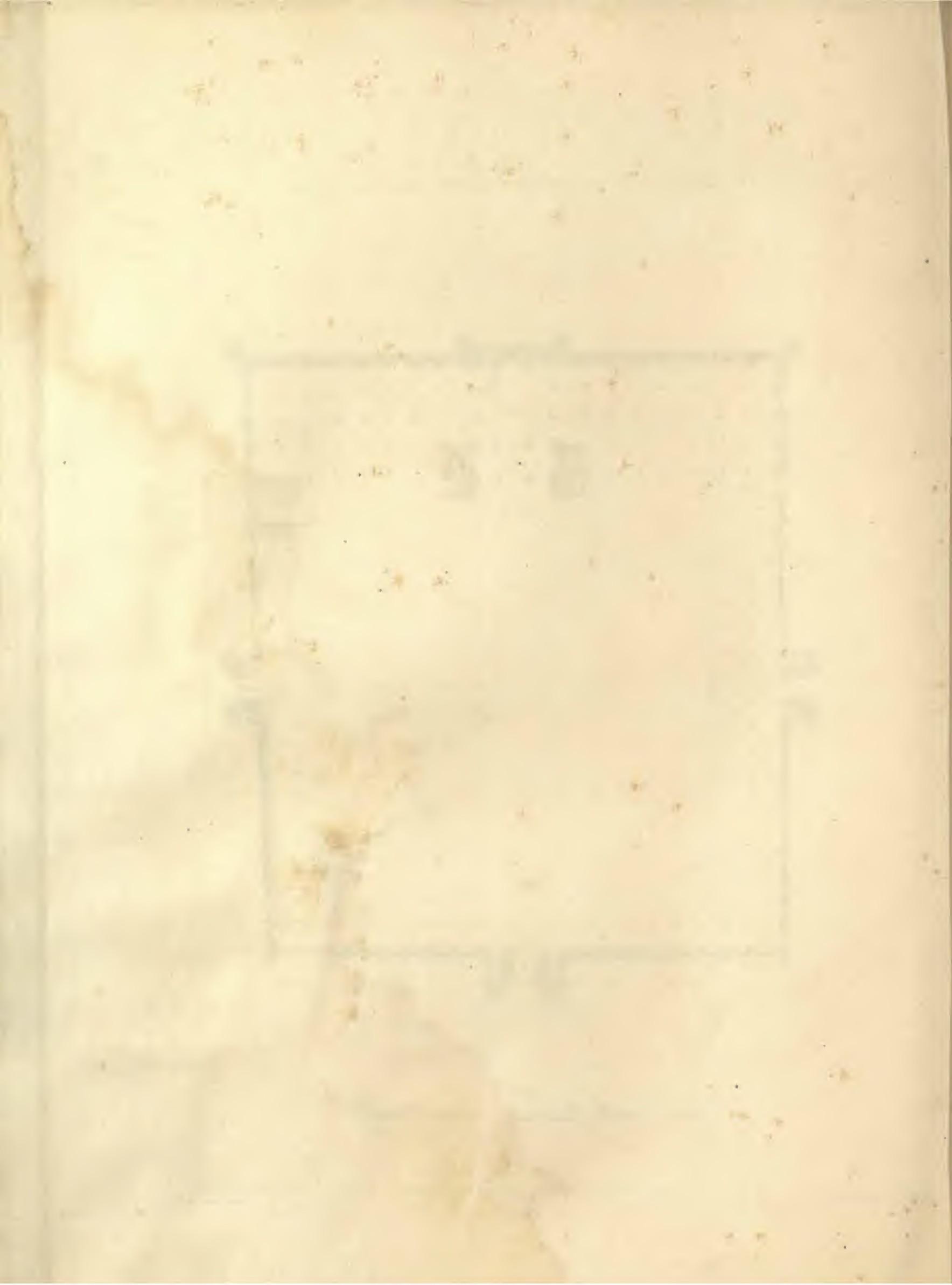


JAUNPUR. INTERIOR OF LAL DARWAZA MASJID



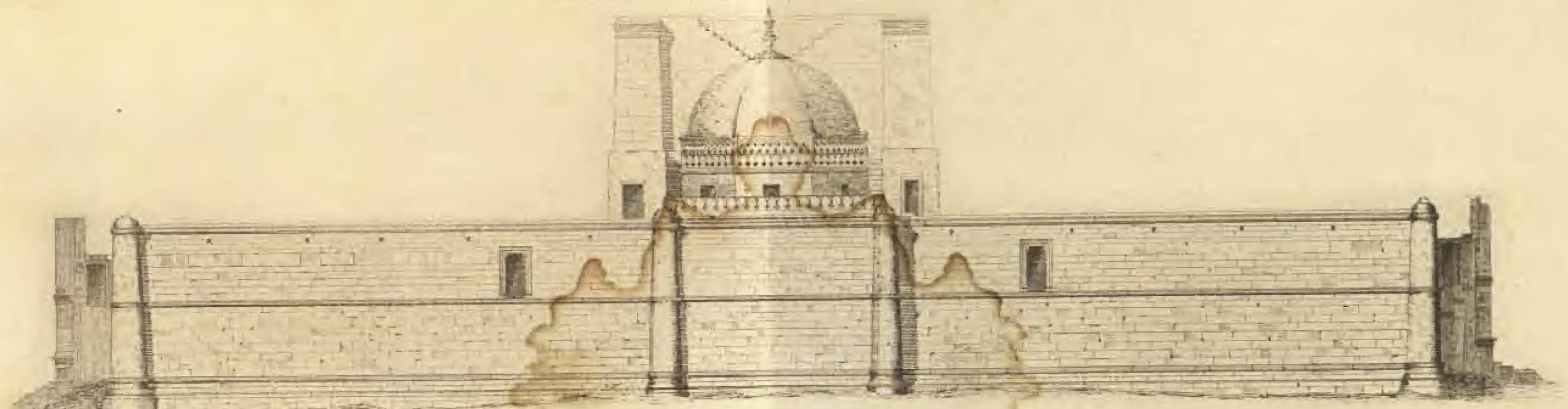
JAUNPUR: LĀL DARWĀZA MASJID,—GROUND PLAN.



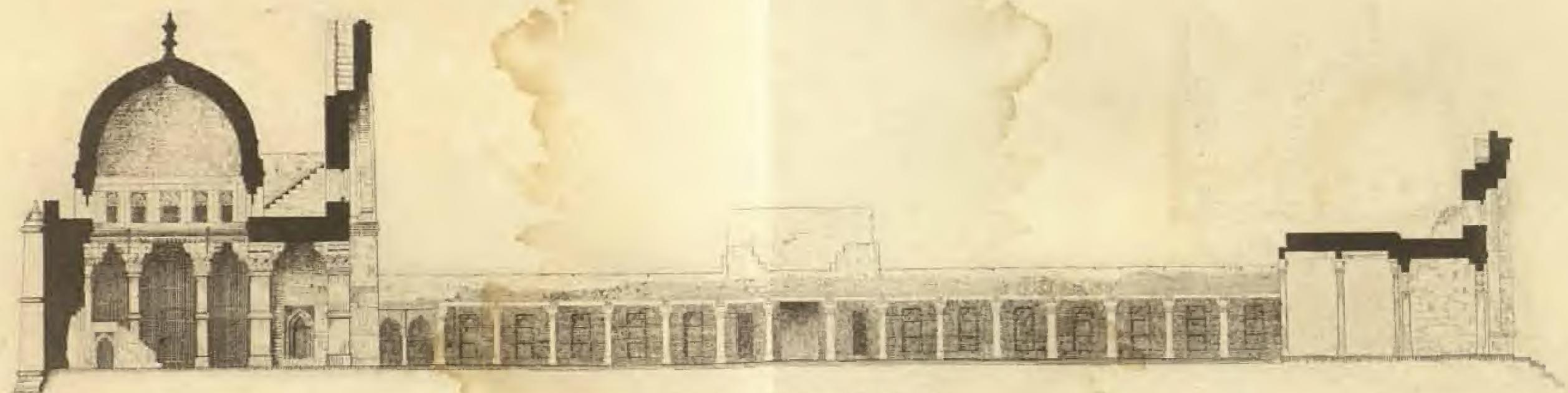


JAUNPUR LAL DARWÄZA MASJID

PLATE XII



WEST OR BACK ELEVATION OF THE EXTERIOR



ELEVATION FROM WEST TO EAST

Front elevation

Survey of India Series No. 100

Front elevation

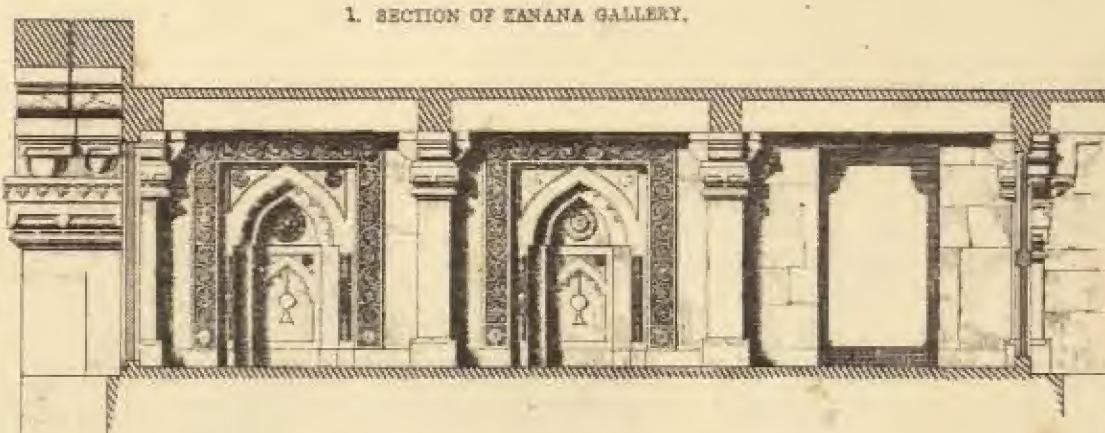
GEODESICAL SURVEY OF INDIA



100 FEET

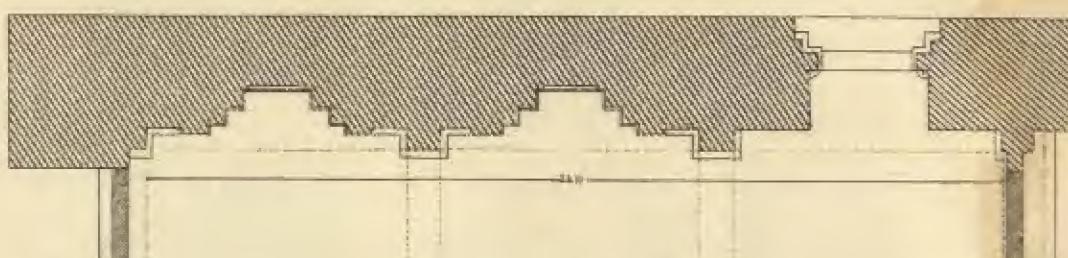


1. SECTION OF KANANA GALLERY.



3. SECTION OF MIHRAB.

2. PLAN OF WALL WITH MIHRABS.



SCALE.

INCHES. 12 10 8 6 4 2 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 FEET.

4. PILASTER OF MIHRAB.

FEET.

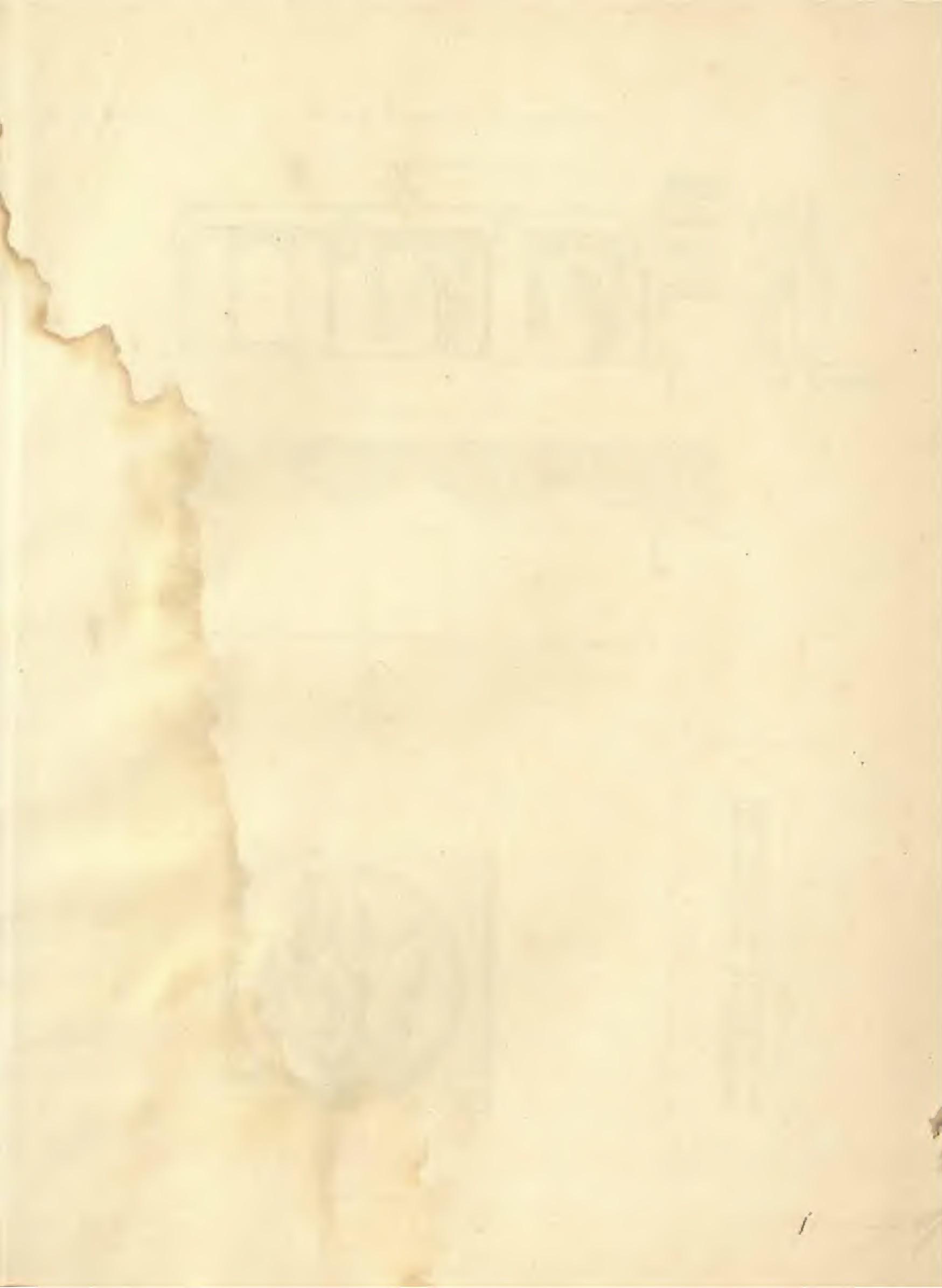
5. DETAIL OF ORNAMENT.



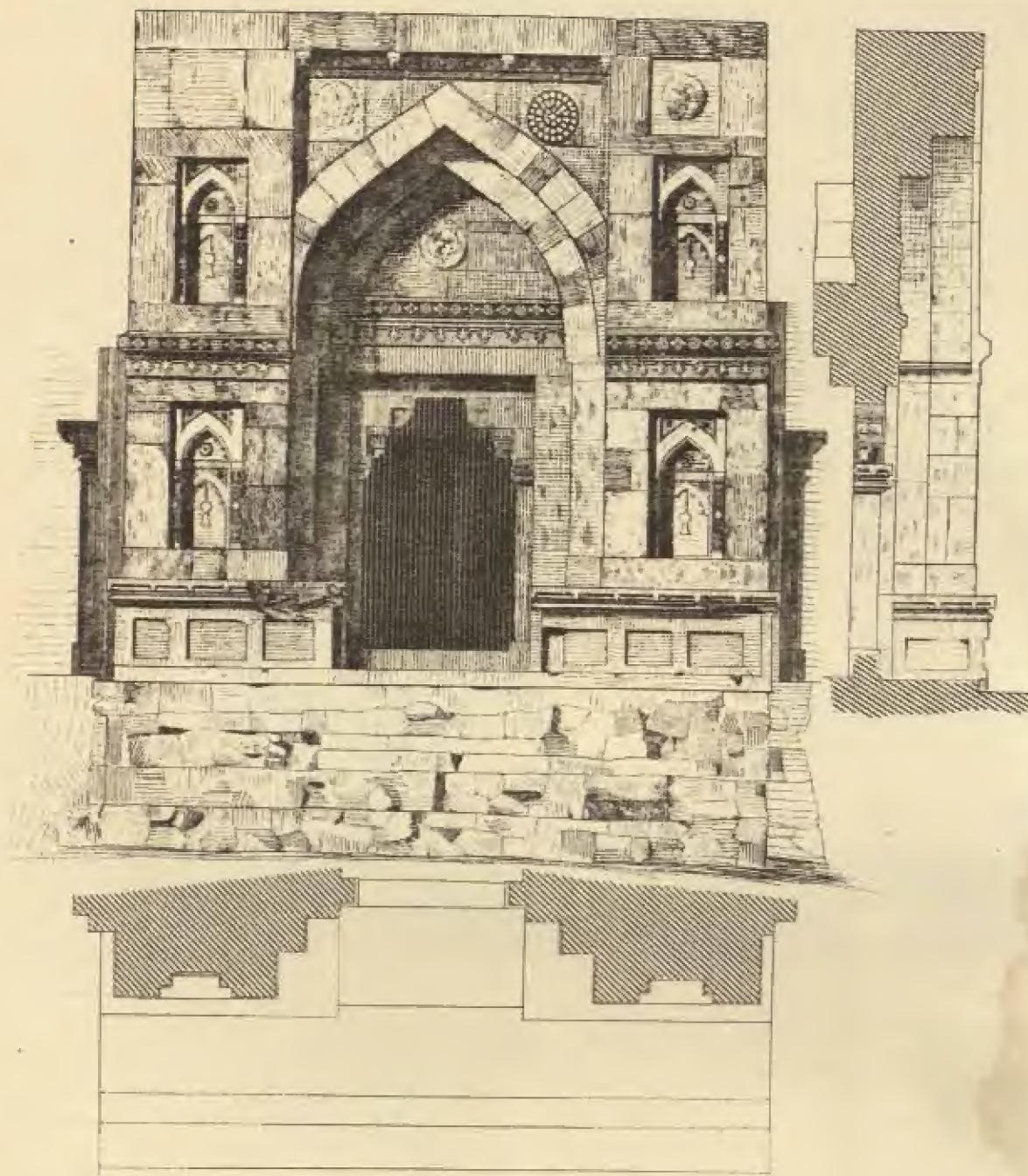
SCALE.

INCHES.





THE NORTH ENTRANCE.



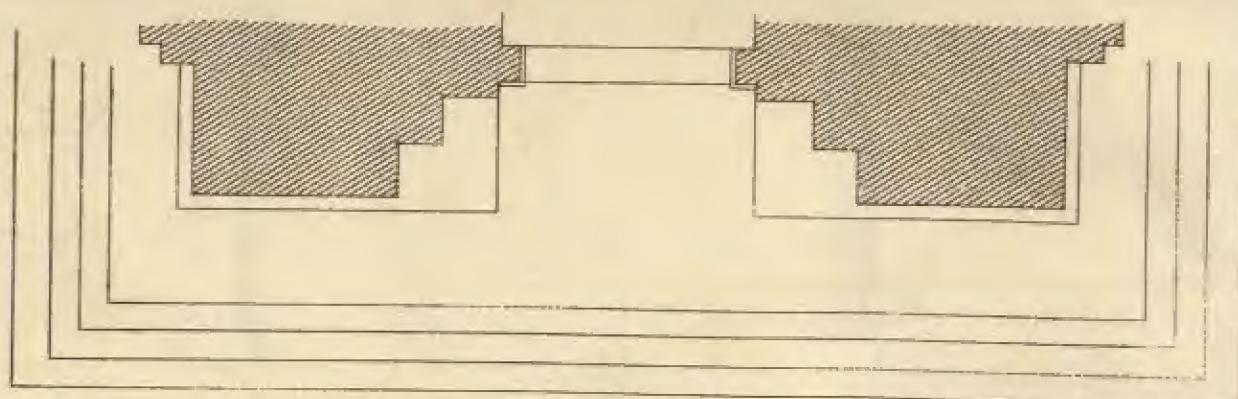
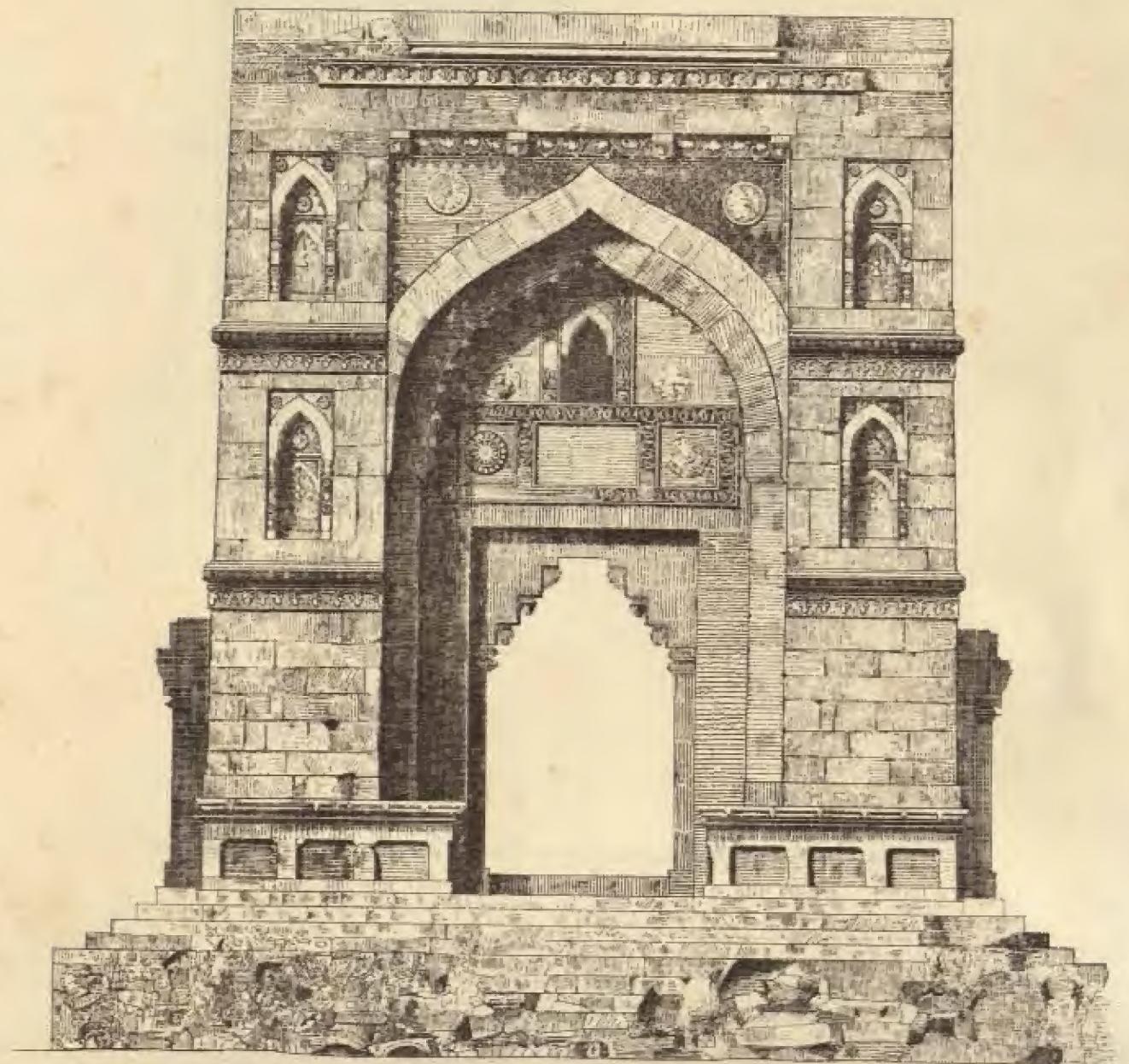
SCALE.

INCHES. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 FEET.



JÂUNPUR: LÂL DÂRWÂZA MÂSJID.
EAST OR PRINCIPAL GATEWAY.

PLATE XXXIII



SCALE.
INCHES. 12 9 7 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 25 FEET.

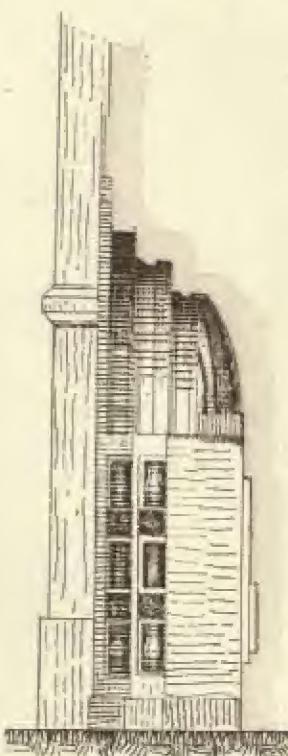
JAUNPUR: LAL DARWAZA MASJID.

PLATE XXXIV.

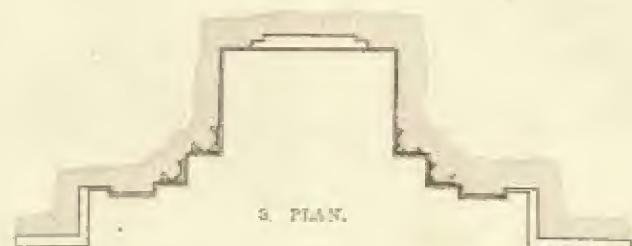
1. PRINCIPAL MIHRAB.



2. SECTION.

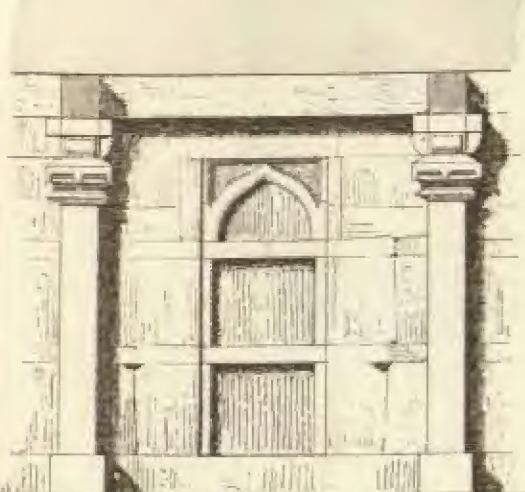


3. PLAN.

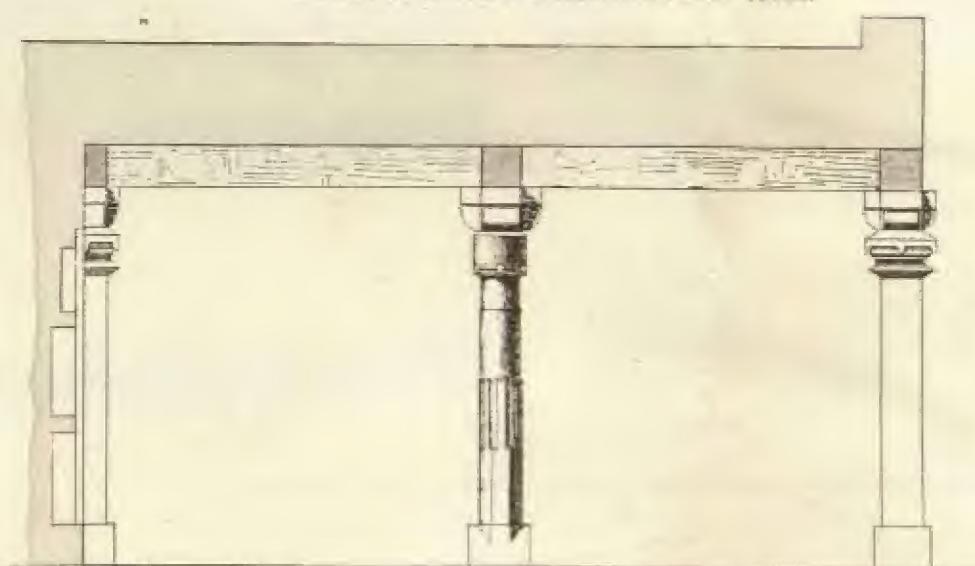


INCHES. 0 1 2 3 4 5 SCALE 10 15 FEET.

4. A BAY OF THE CLOISTER WALLS.



5. SECTION ACROSS THE CLOISTERS OF THE COURSE.



INCHES. 0 1 2 3 4 5

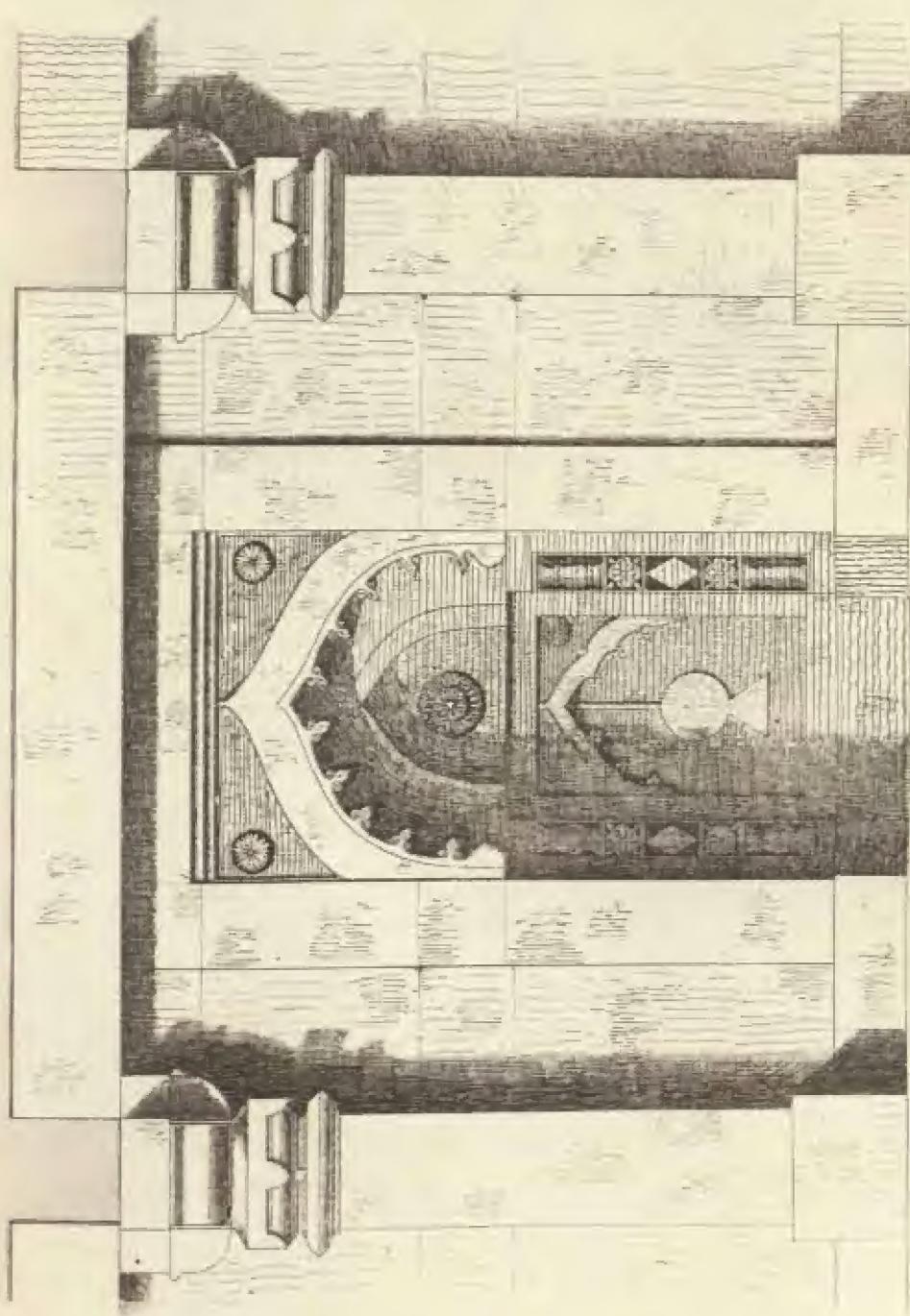
SCALE

10

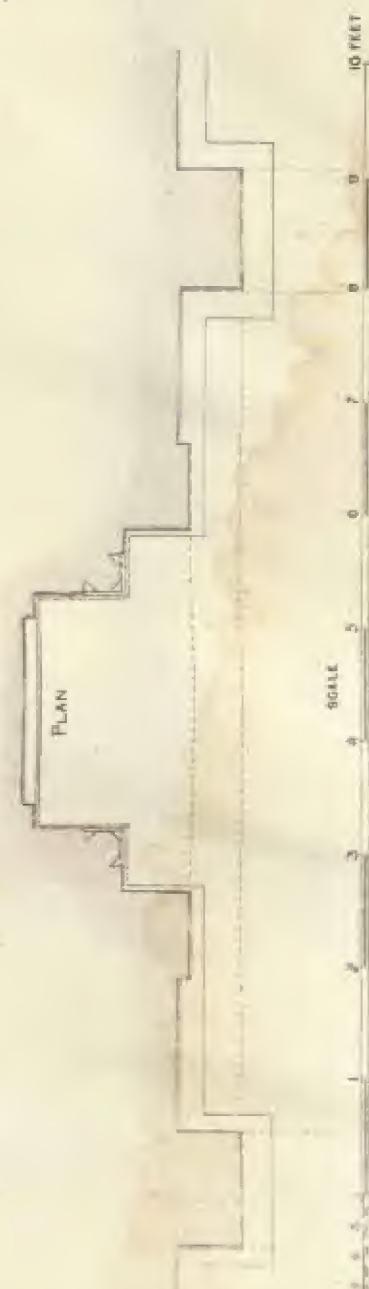
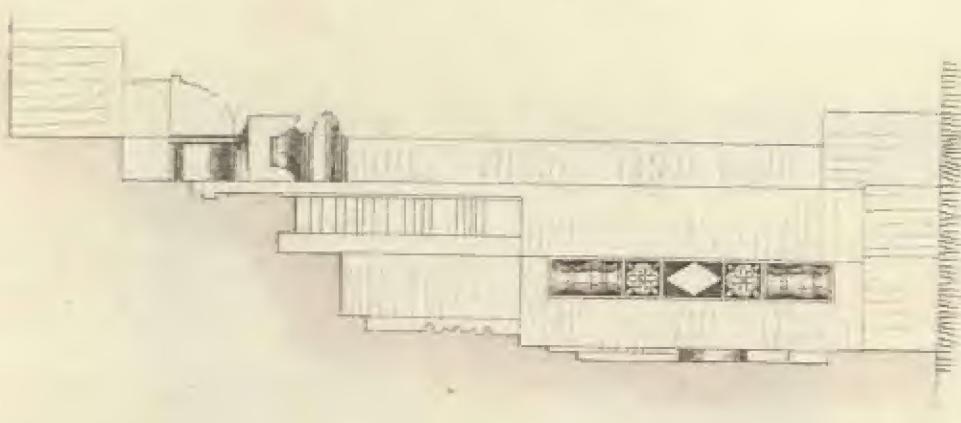
20

25 FEET.





ELEVATION
SECTION



MIRABER ALONG THE INNER WALL.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
Photograph by

Edw W Beaufort del

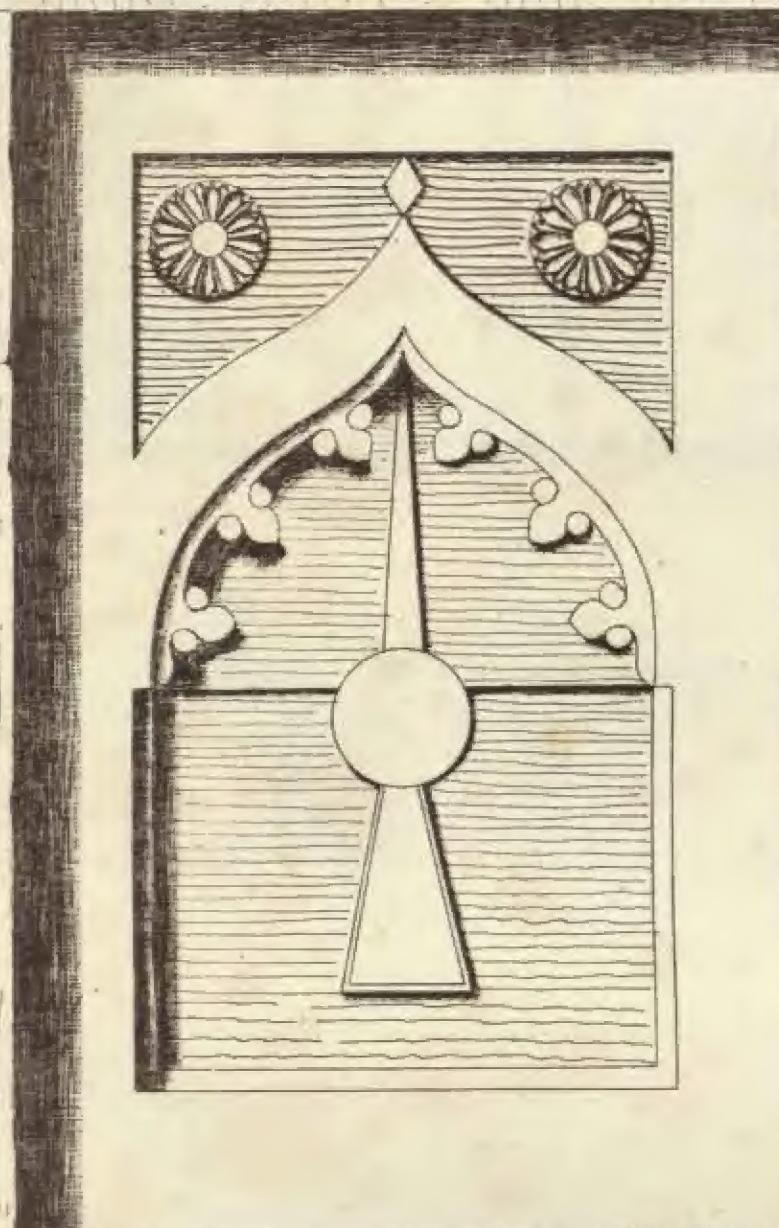
Bureau of India Office, Calcutta, Government. 1865



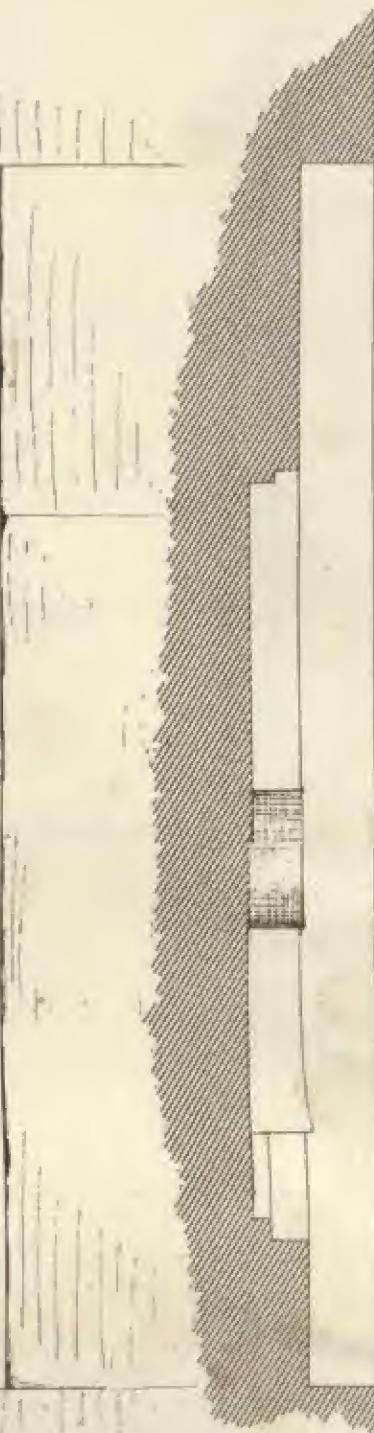
JAUNPUR: LAL DARWAZA MASJID.

PANELS OVER THE NICHES IN THE WEST WALL.

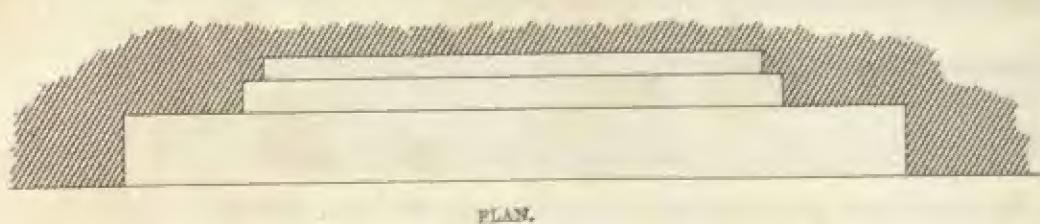
PLATE XXXVI.



ELEVATION.



ERCTION.



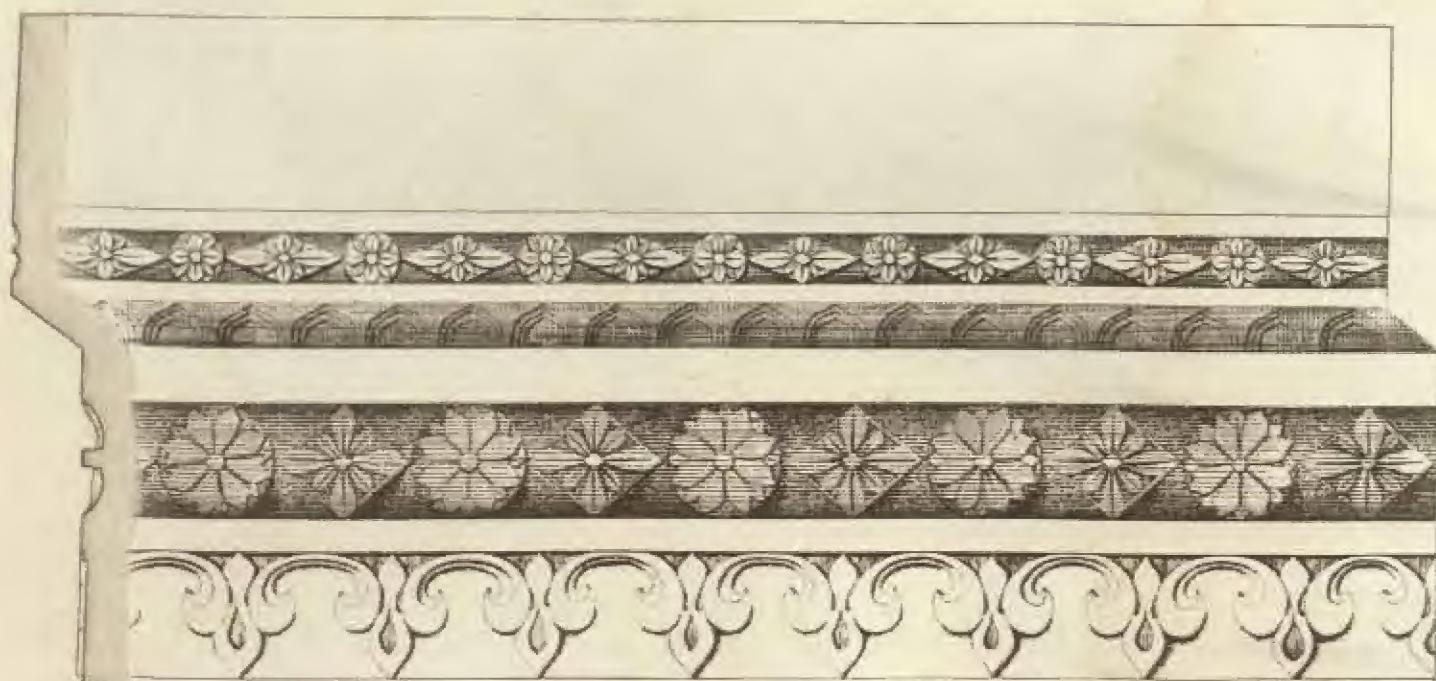
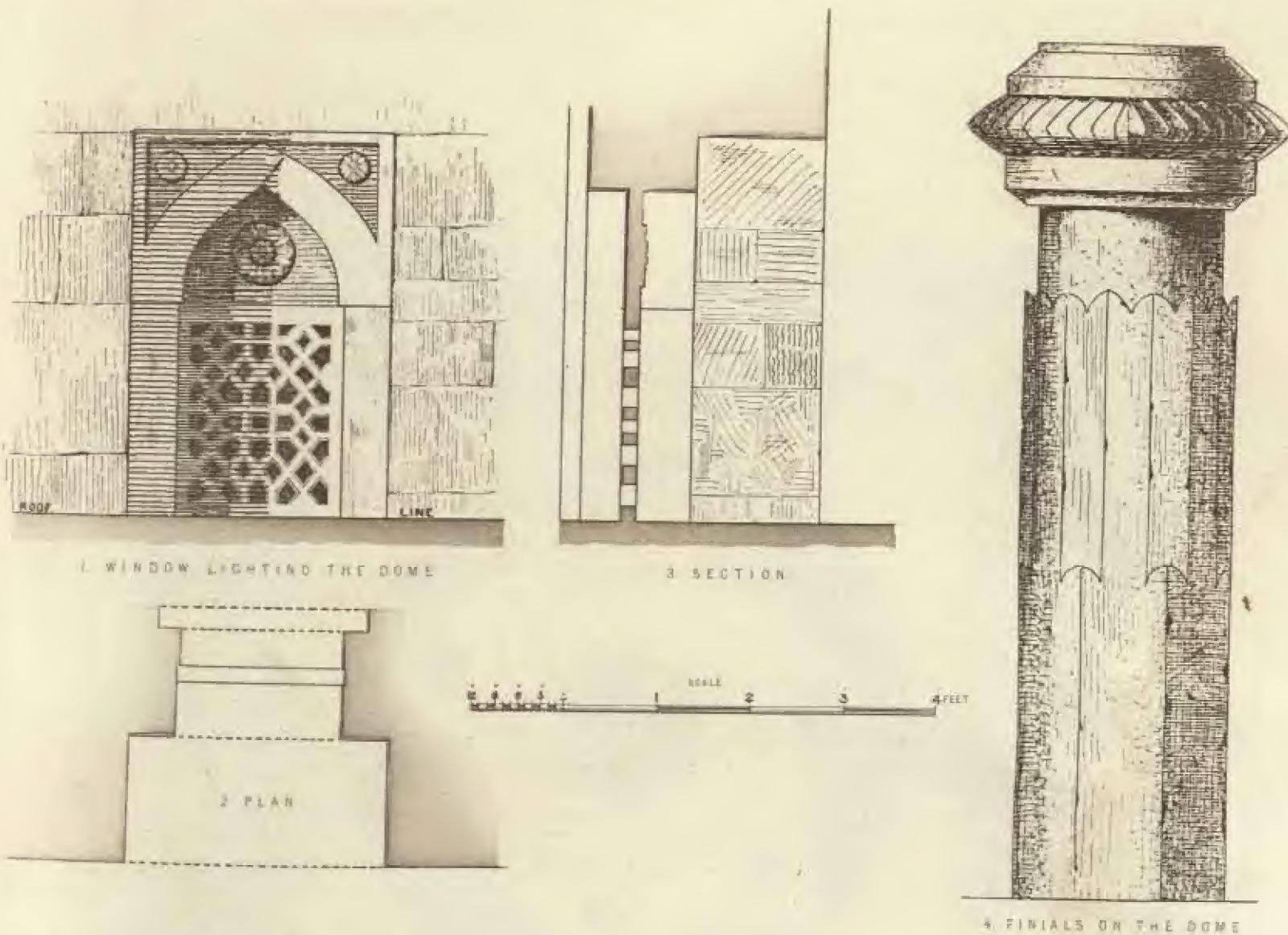
PLAN.

SCALE.



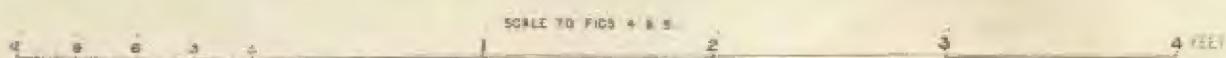
JAUNPUR LĀL DARWĀZA MASJID

PLATE XXVII



5. DETAIL OF THE MOULDING ROUND THE INTERIOR OF THE DOME

J. W. Smith.





JAUNPUR: LÅL DARWÅZA MASJID.

WALL PANEL OVER THE PRINCIPAL MIHRÅB.

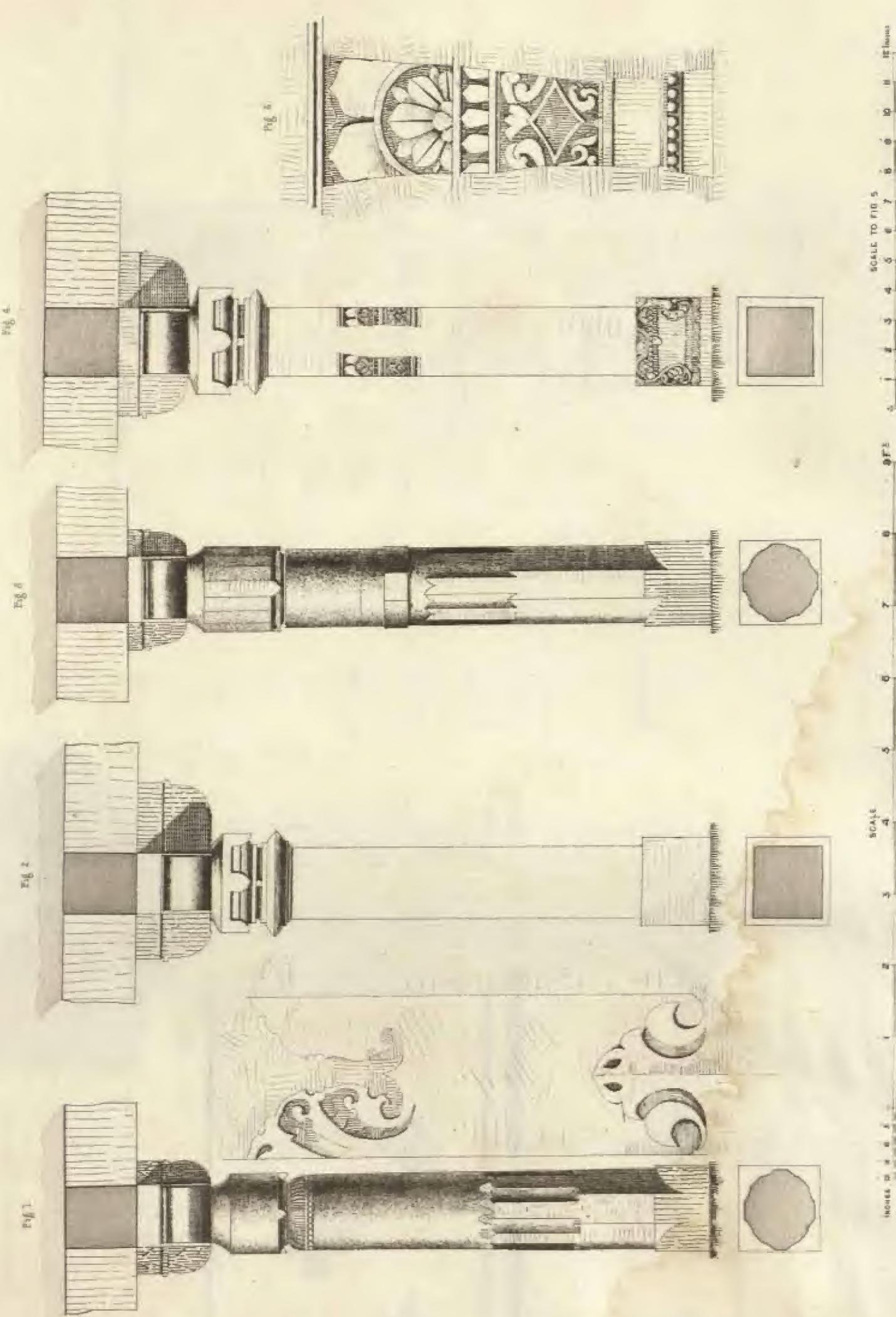


SCALE.

INCHES. FEET.

JĀUNPUR LĀL DĀRWAZĀ MĀGJID

PLATE XXXIX



EXAMPLES OF PILLARS IN THE GLOSTER'S

Archaeological Survey of India

Edin W. Venitchal

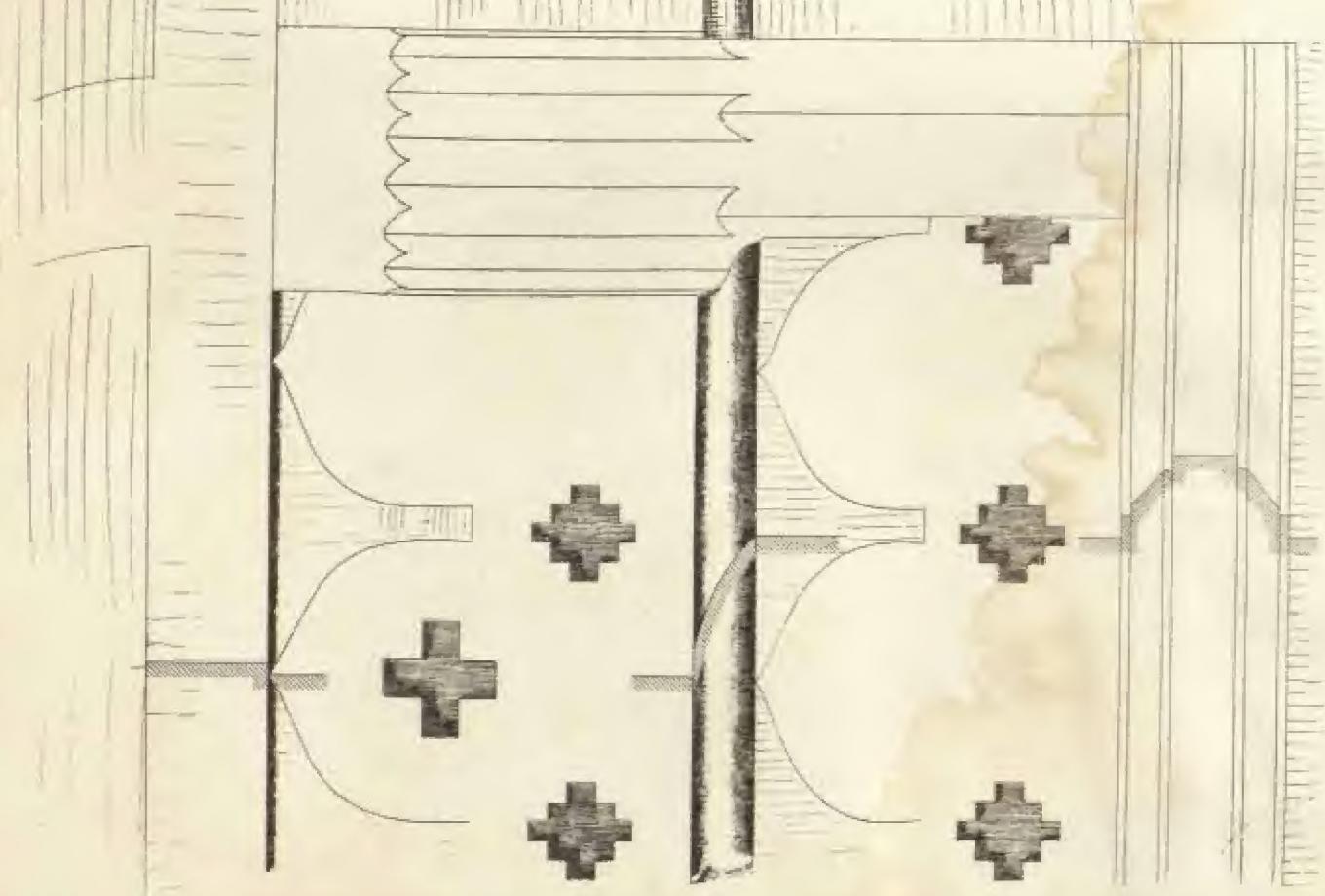
Survey of India Office, Calcutta, October 1868

Photo-engraving

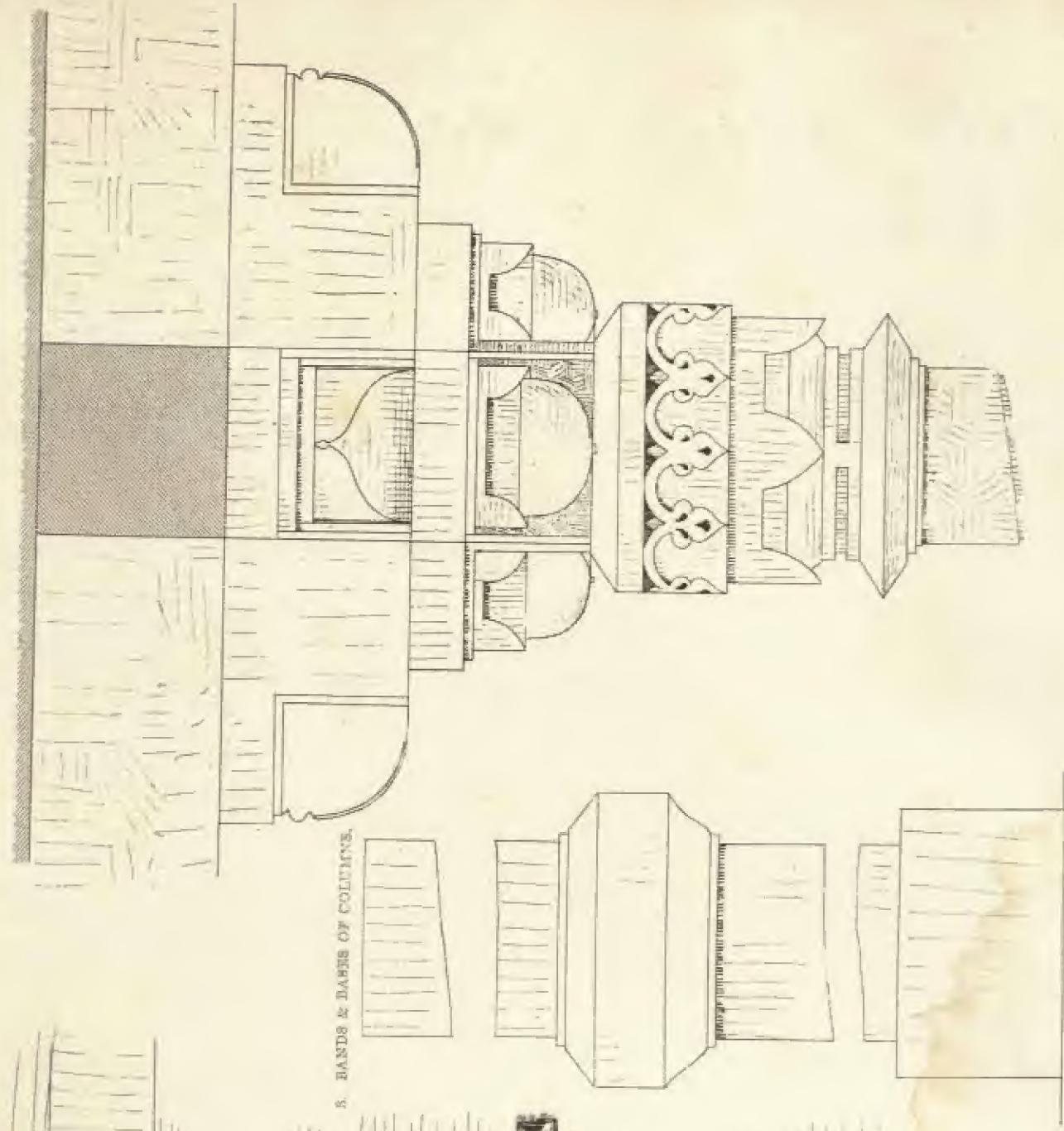
JAUNPUR: LÂL DARWÂZA MASJID.

PLATE XL.

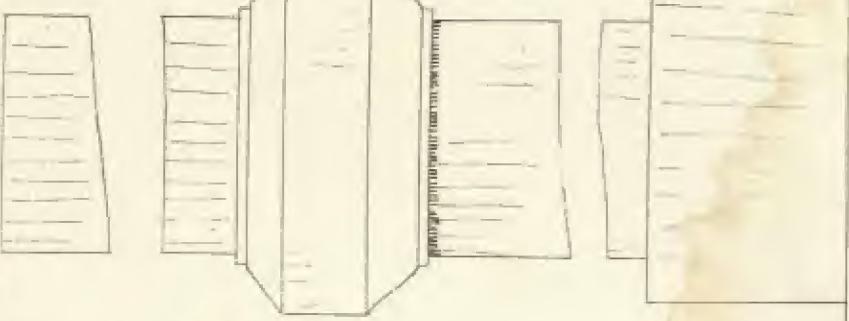
1. DETAIL OF STRING COURSE, &c., ROUND THE EXTERIOR OF THE DOME.

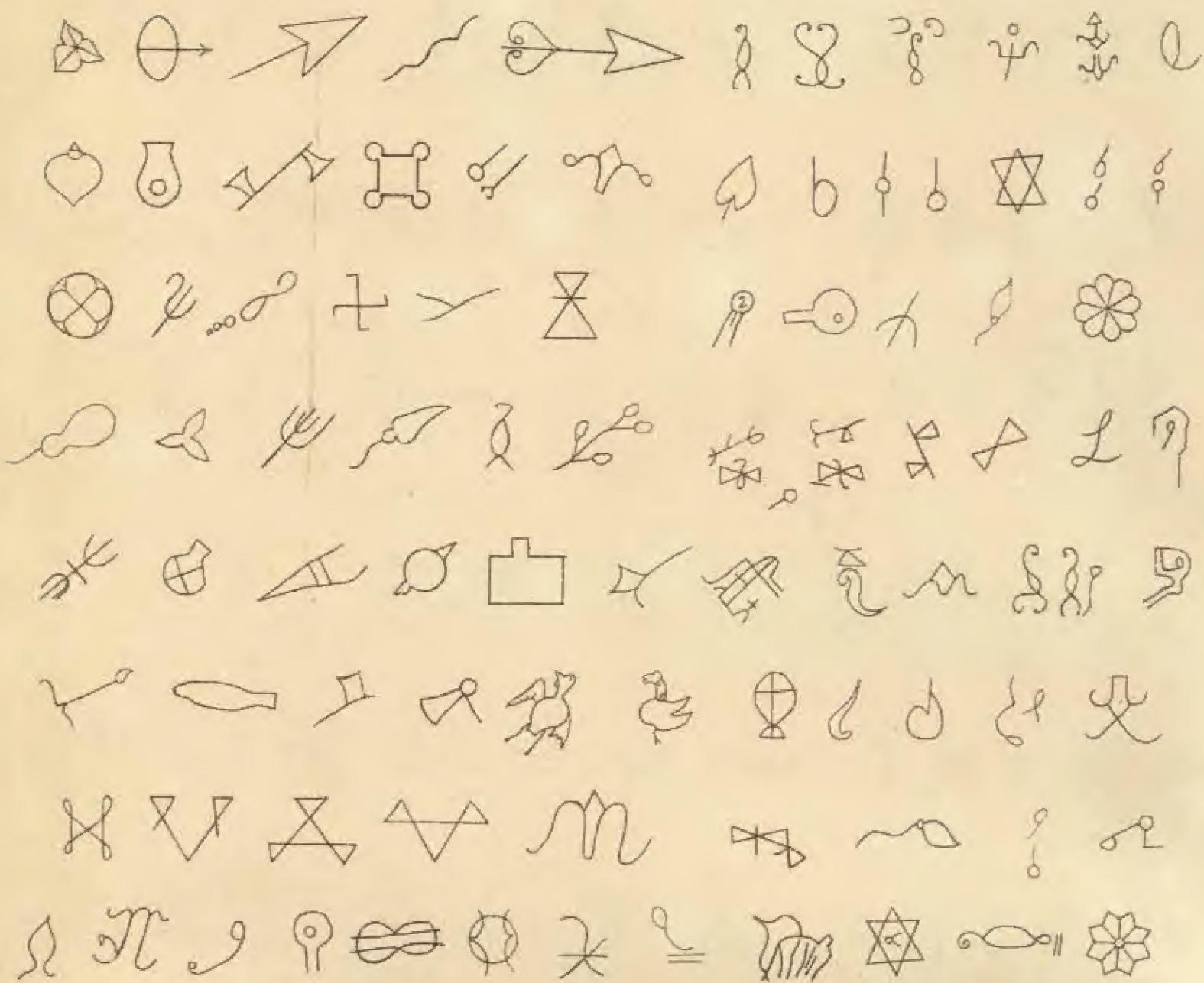


2. CAPITALS OF COLUMNS IN THE MOSQUE.

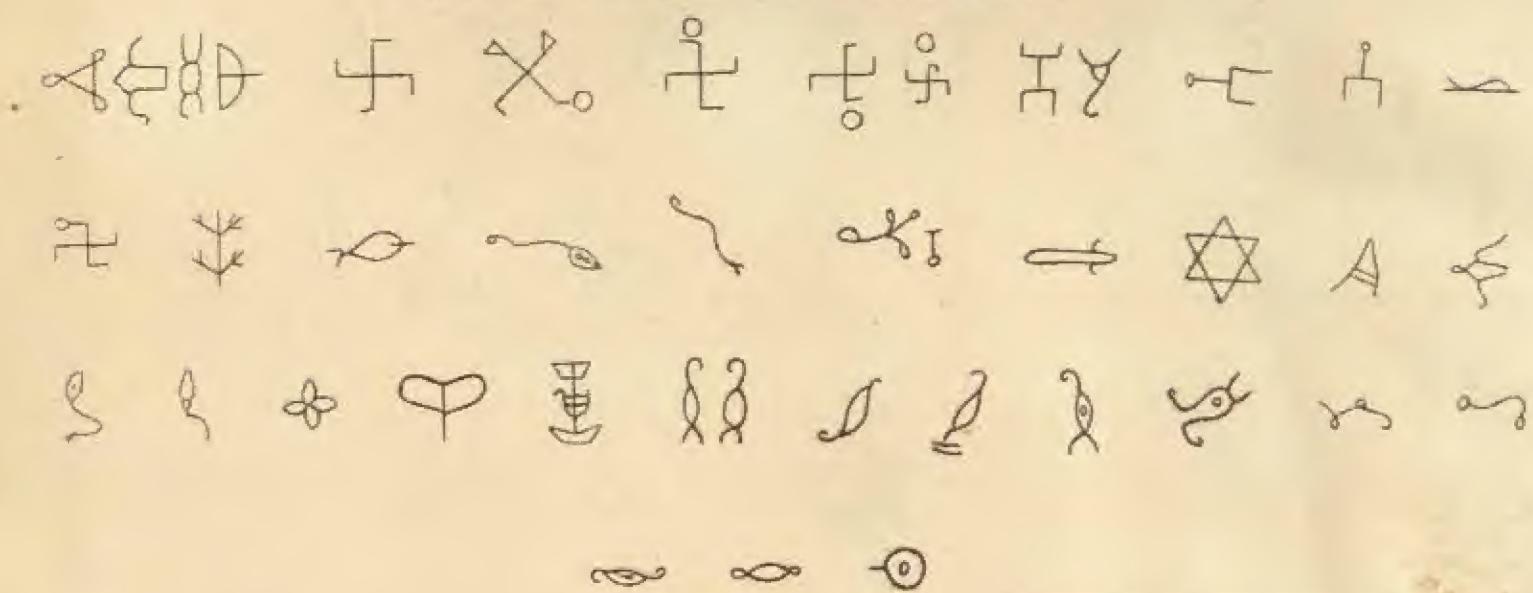


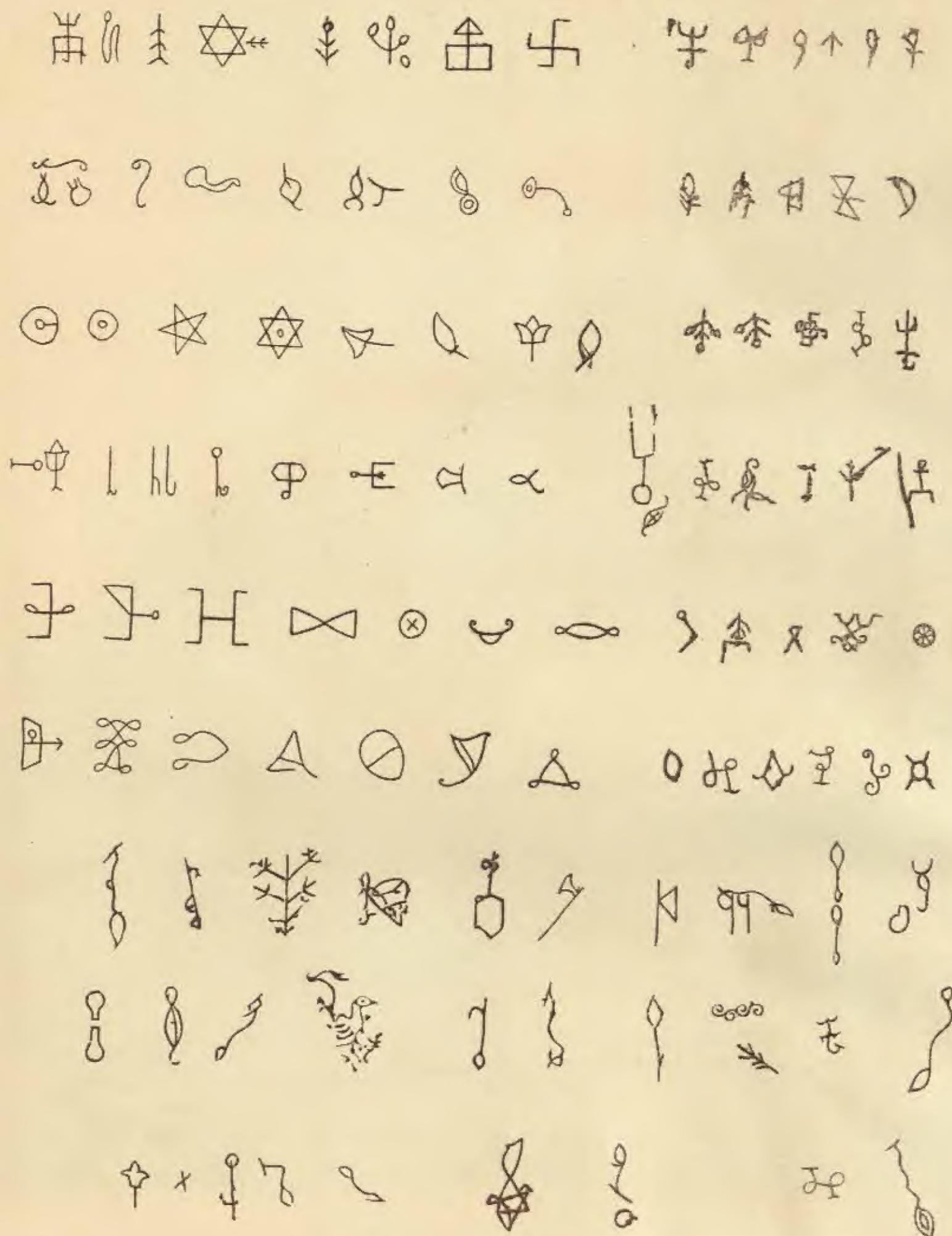
3. HANDS & DAISIES OF COLUMNS.





(2) FROM THE LĀL DARWĀZA MASJID.





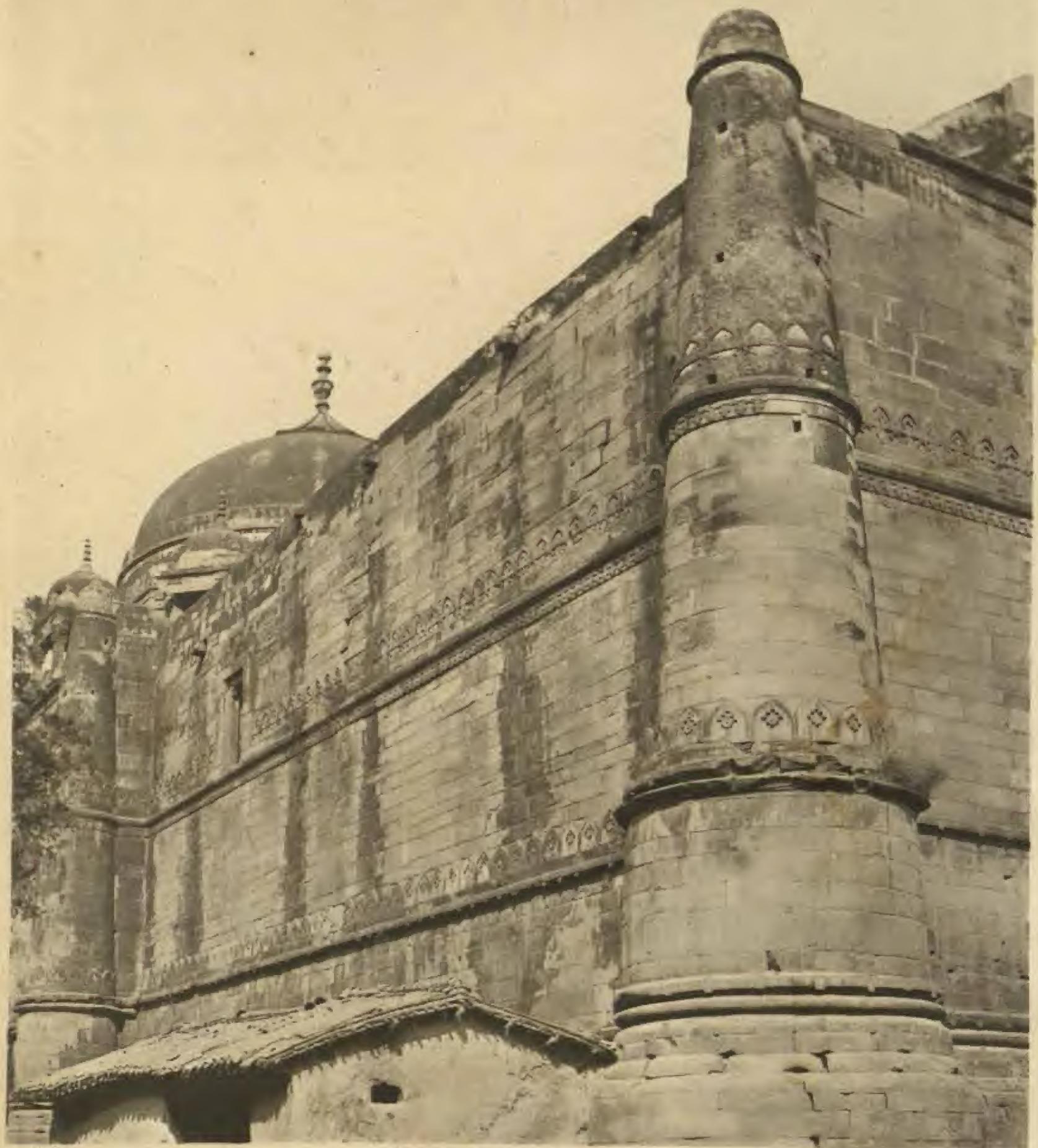
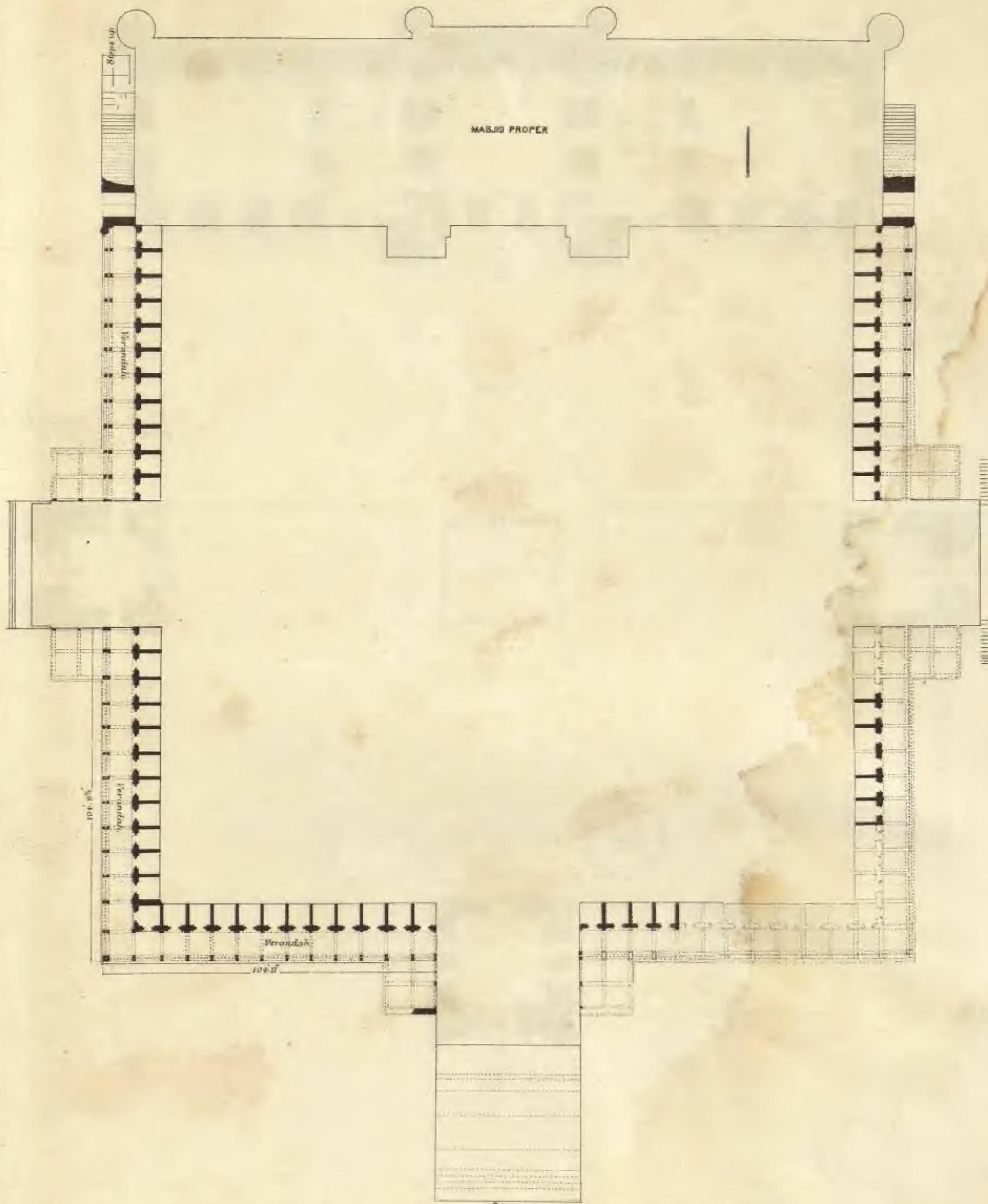


Photo - A. H. Schimmel

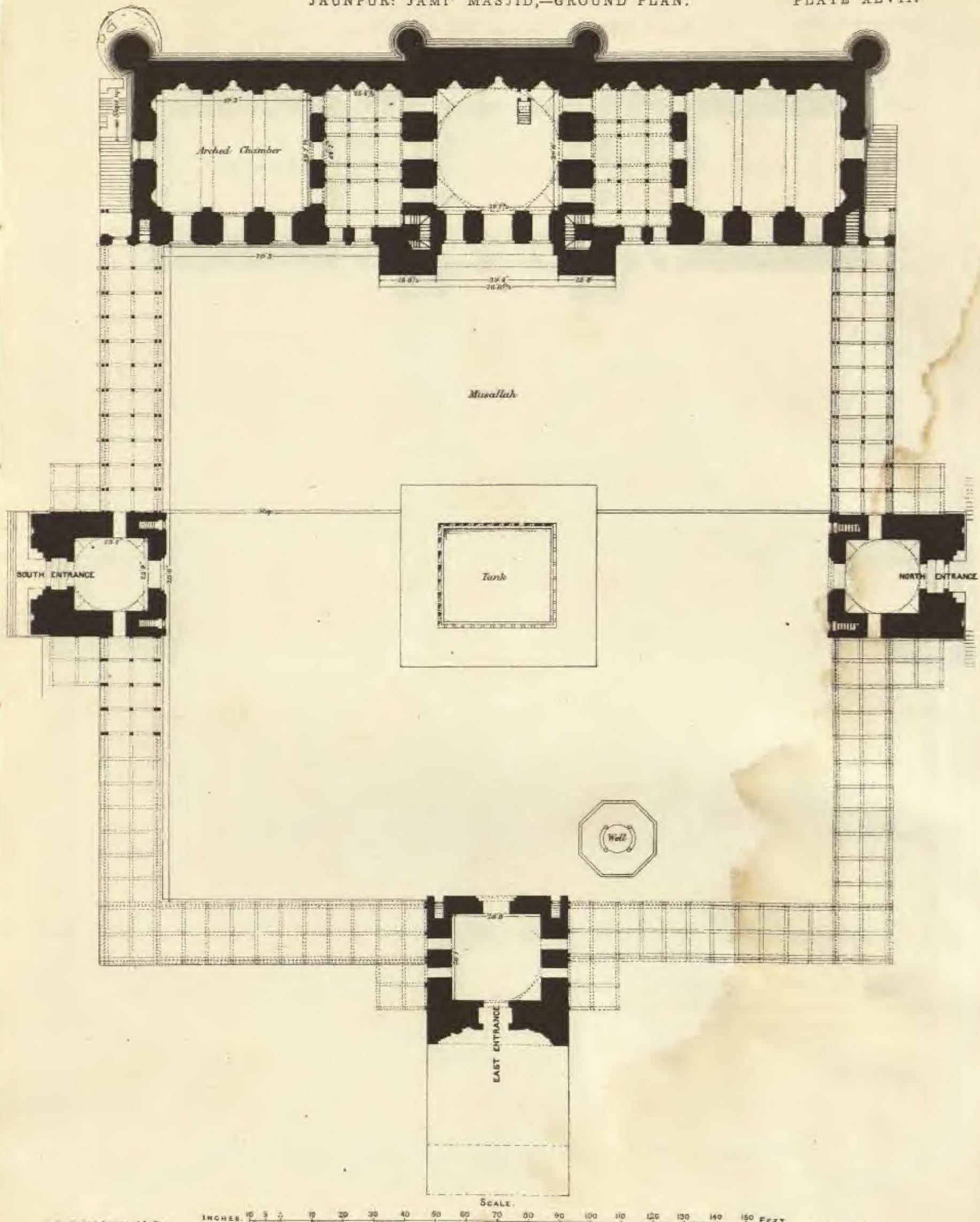
Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November, 1904

JAUNPUR JAMI MASJID. SOUTH - WEST EXTERIOR

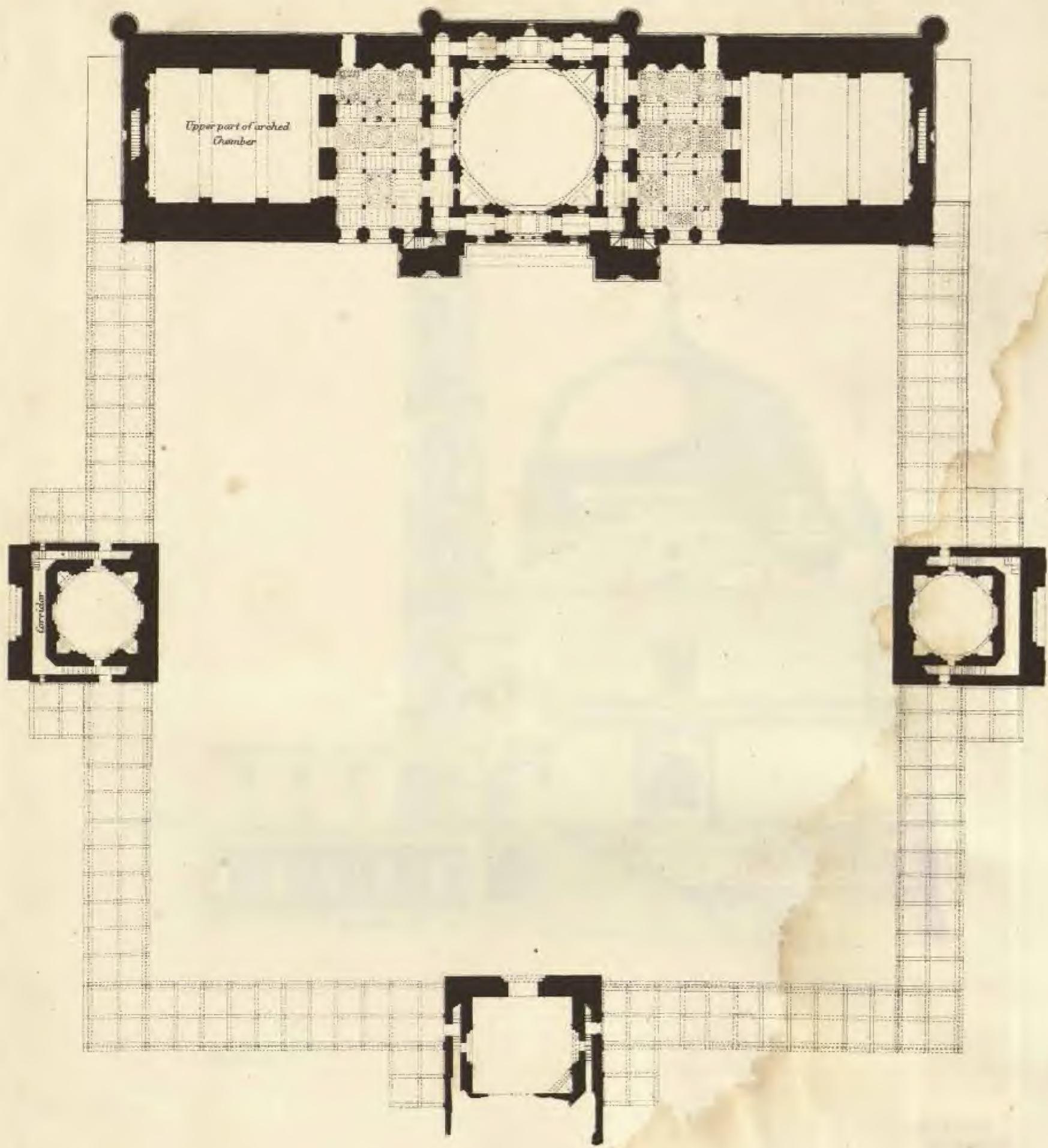






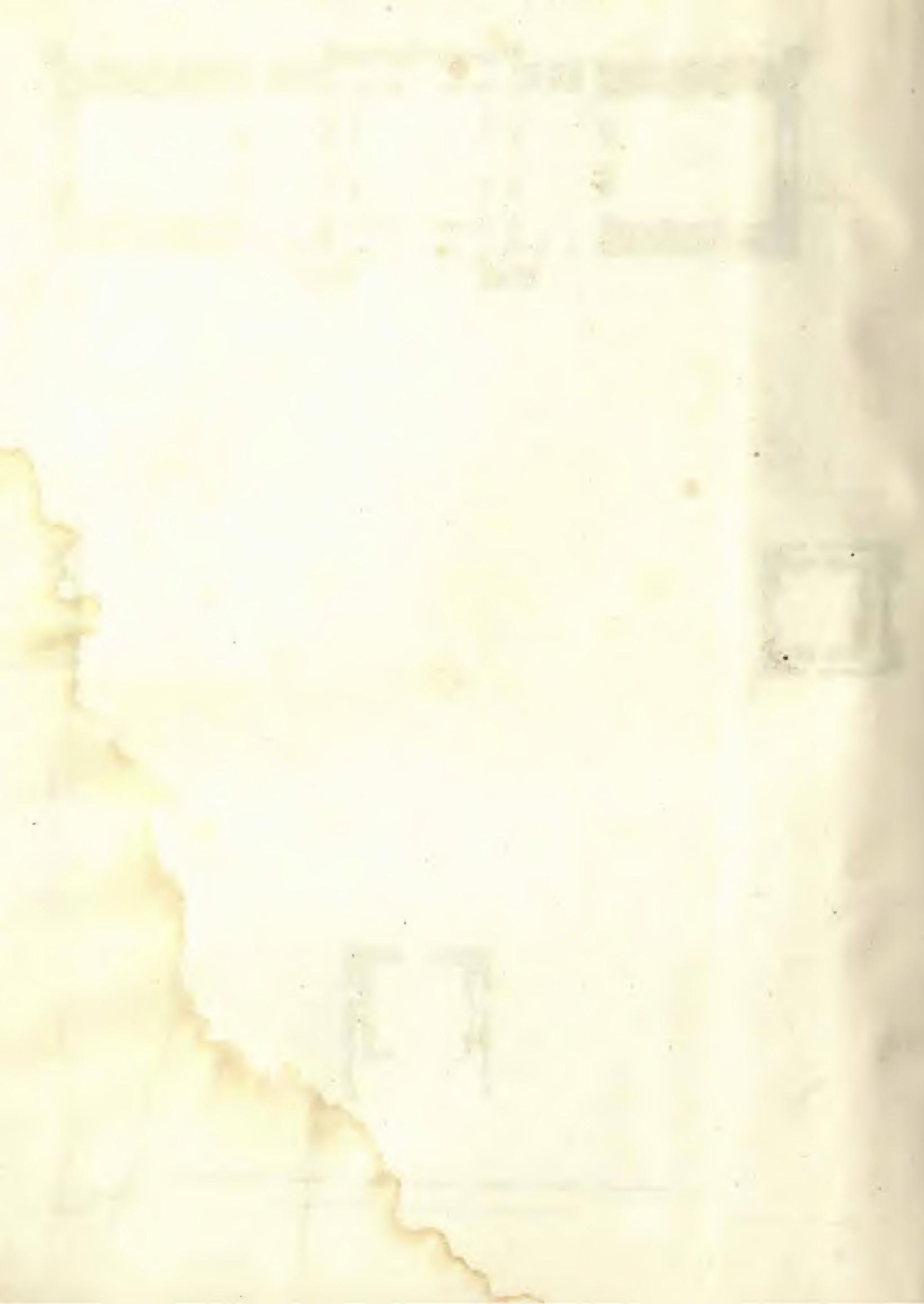






SCALE.

INCHES. 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 FEET.

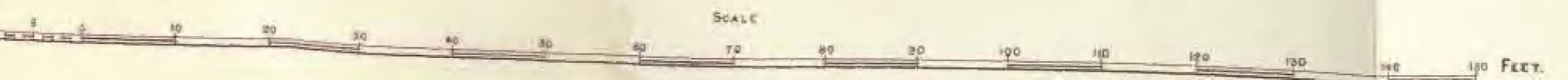


JAUNPUR: JĀMI' MASJID.

PLATE L



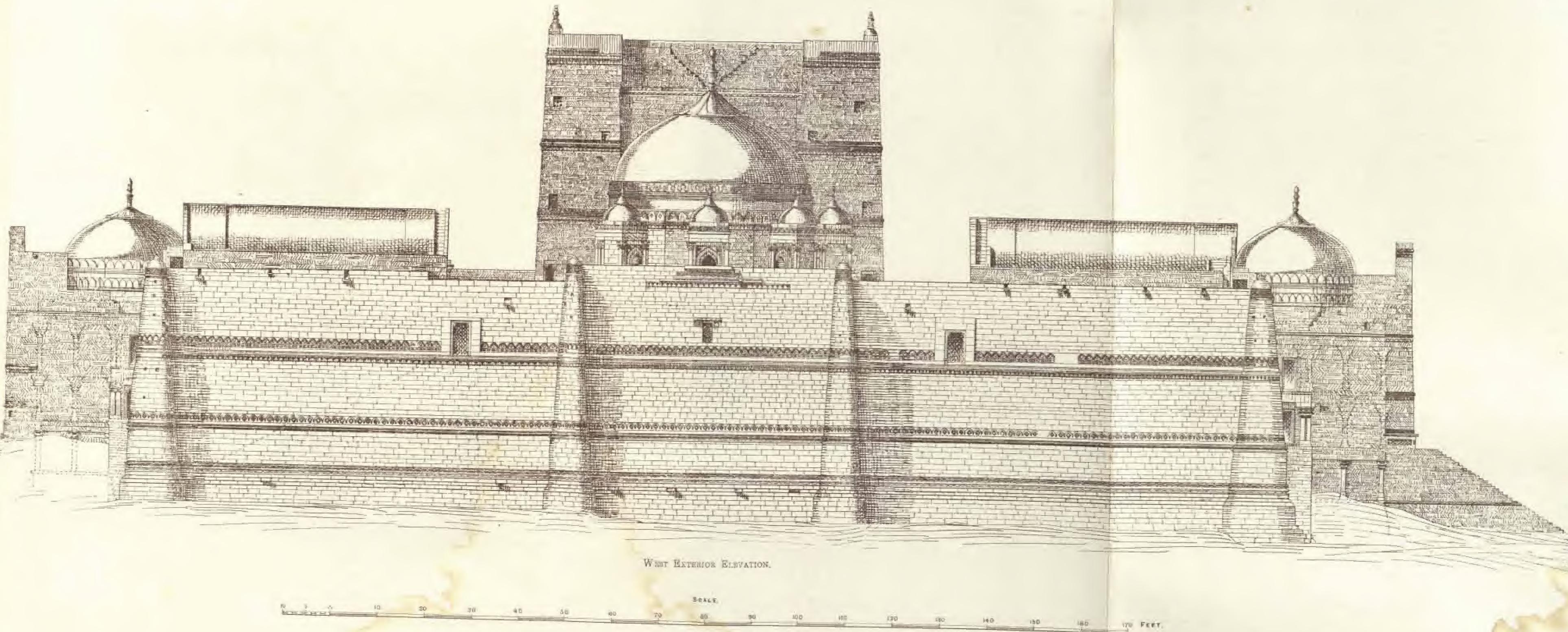
NORTH EXTERIOR ELEVATION.





JAUNPUR: JĀMĪ MASJID.

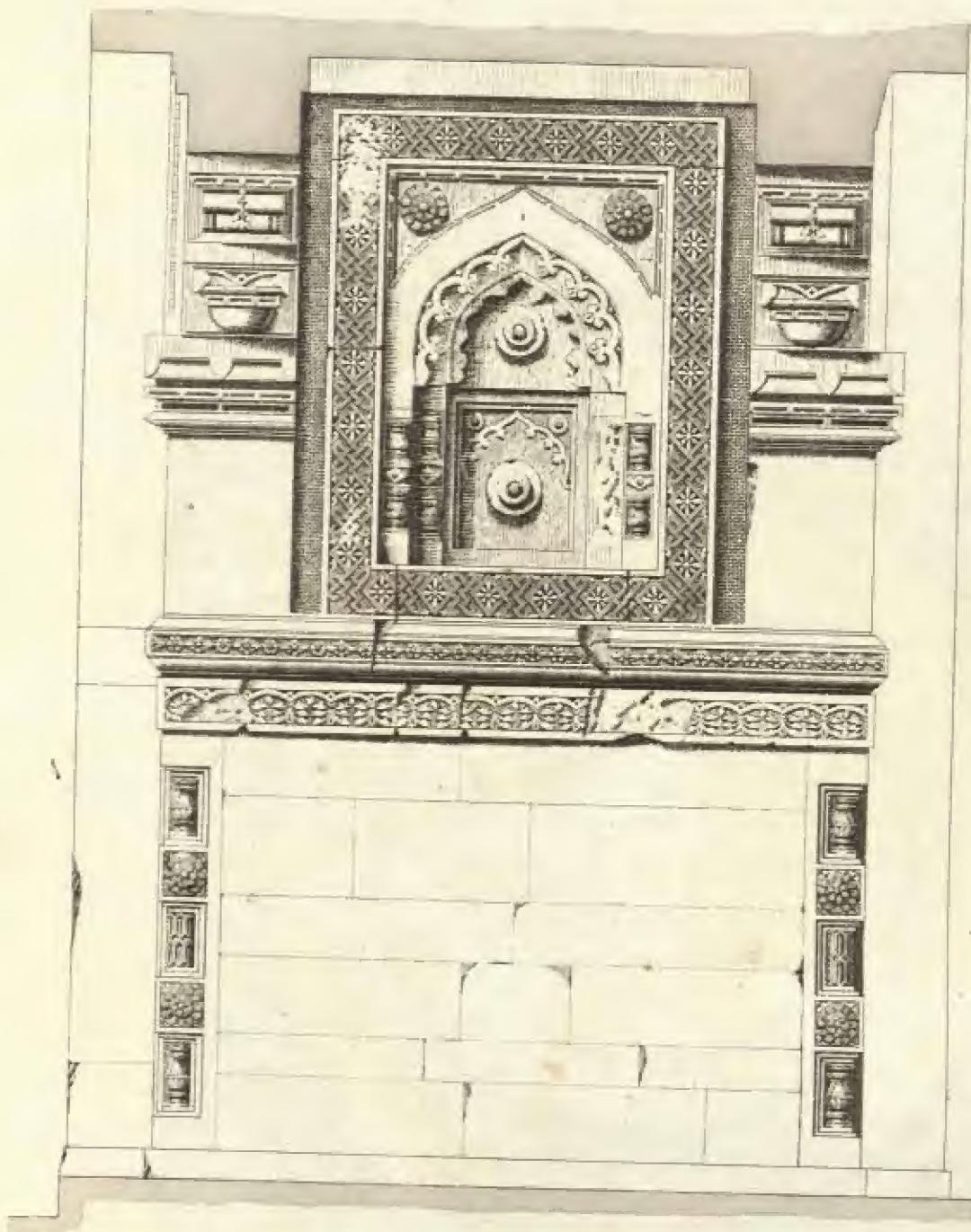
PLATE LII.



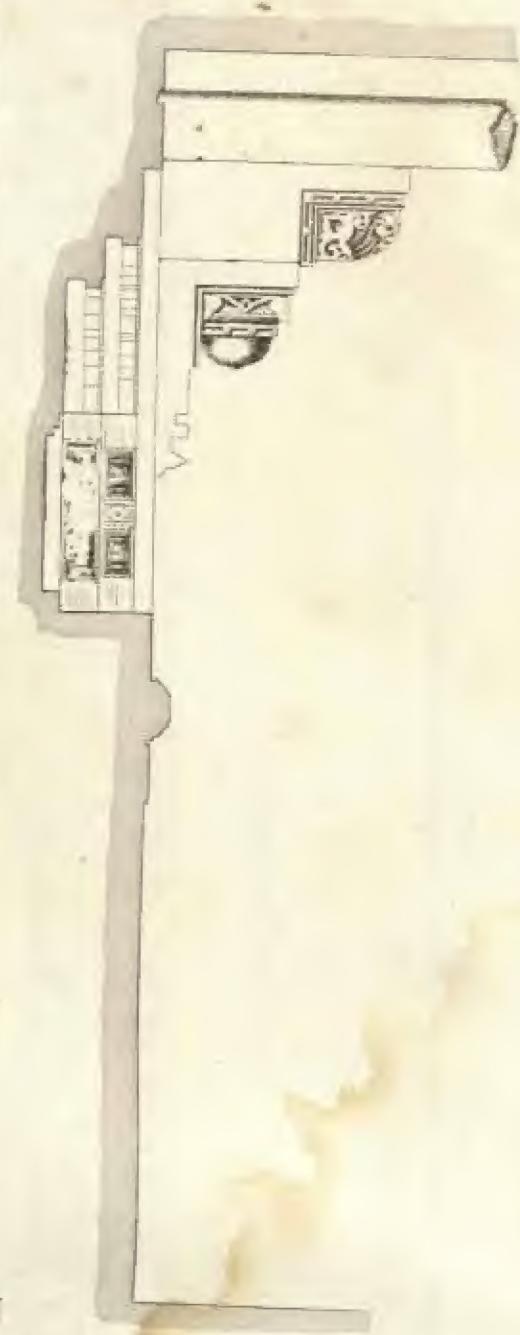


JAUNPUR: JĀMĪ' MASJID.

PLATE LIV.



I. JAM'E OF PRINCIPAL DOORWAY.



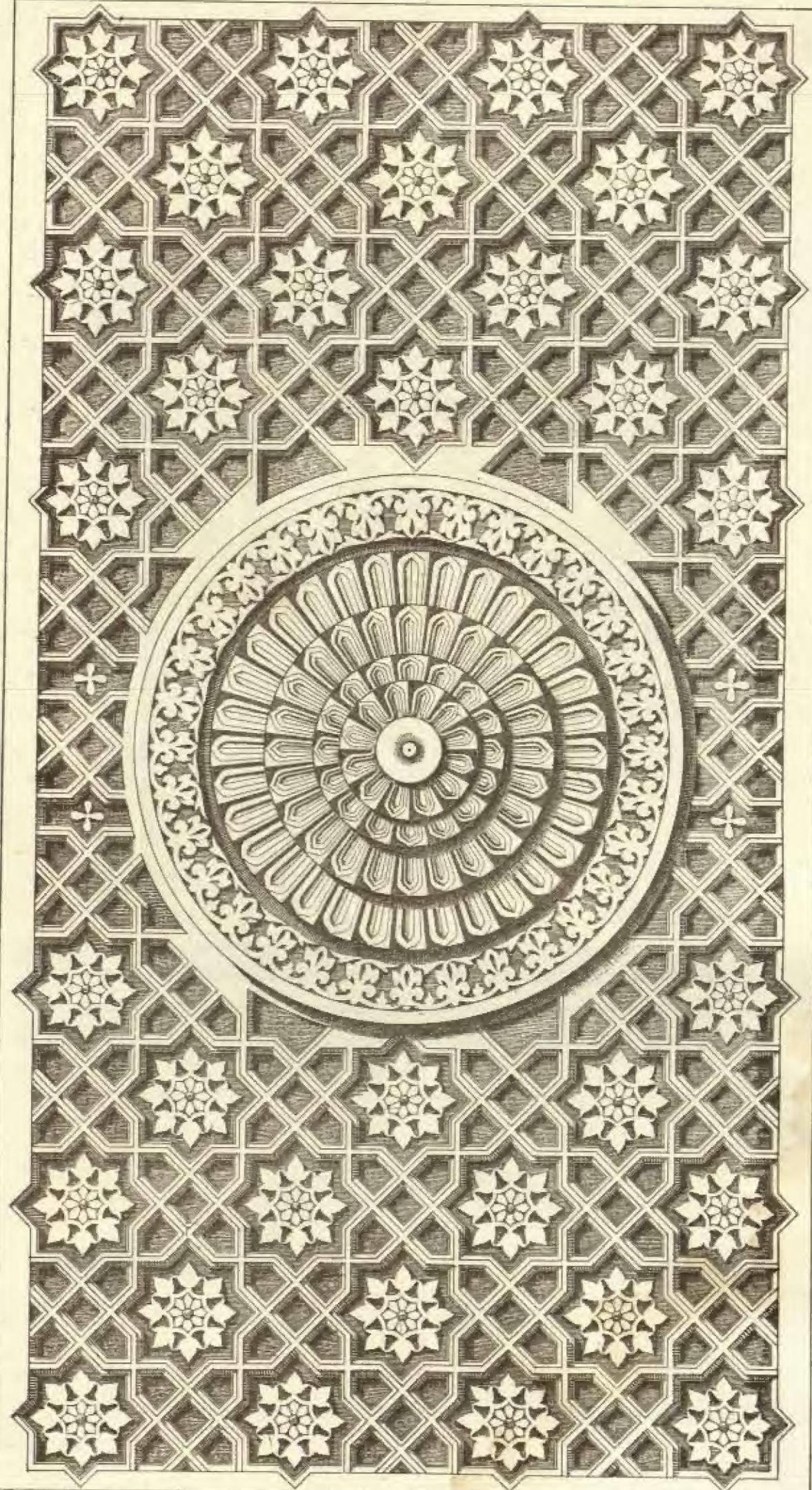
SECTION



PLAN.



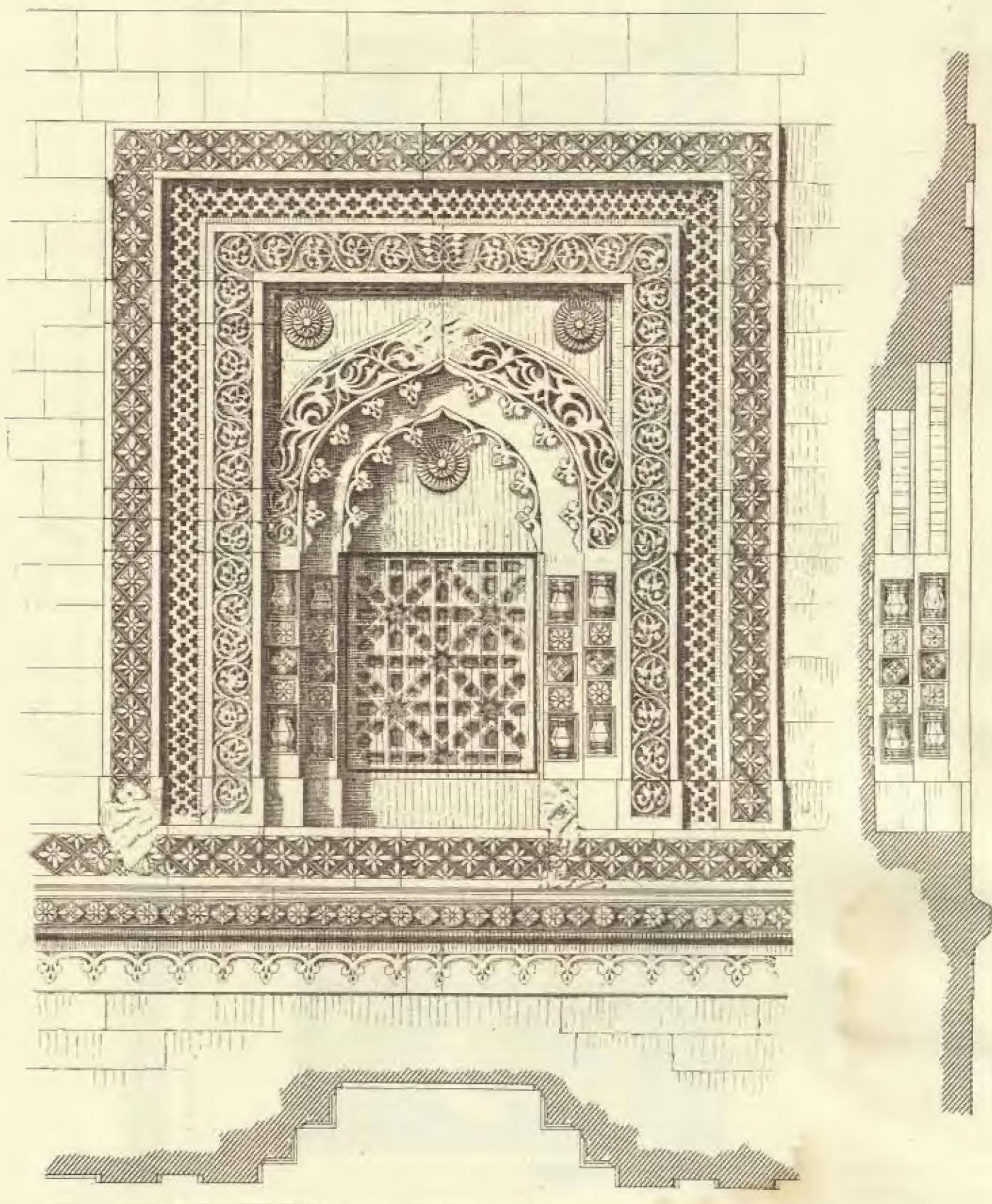
JAUNPUR: JĀMĪ MASJID.



SCREEN OF PRINCIPAL DOORWAY.

Scale
INCHES 12 10 8 6 4 2





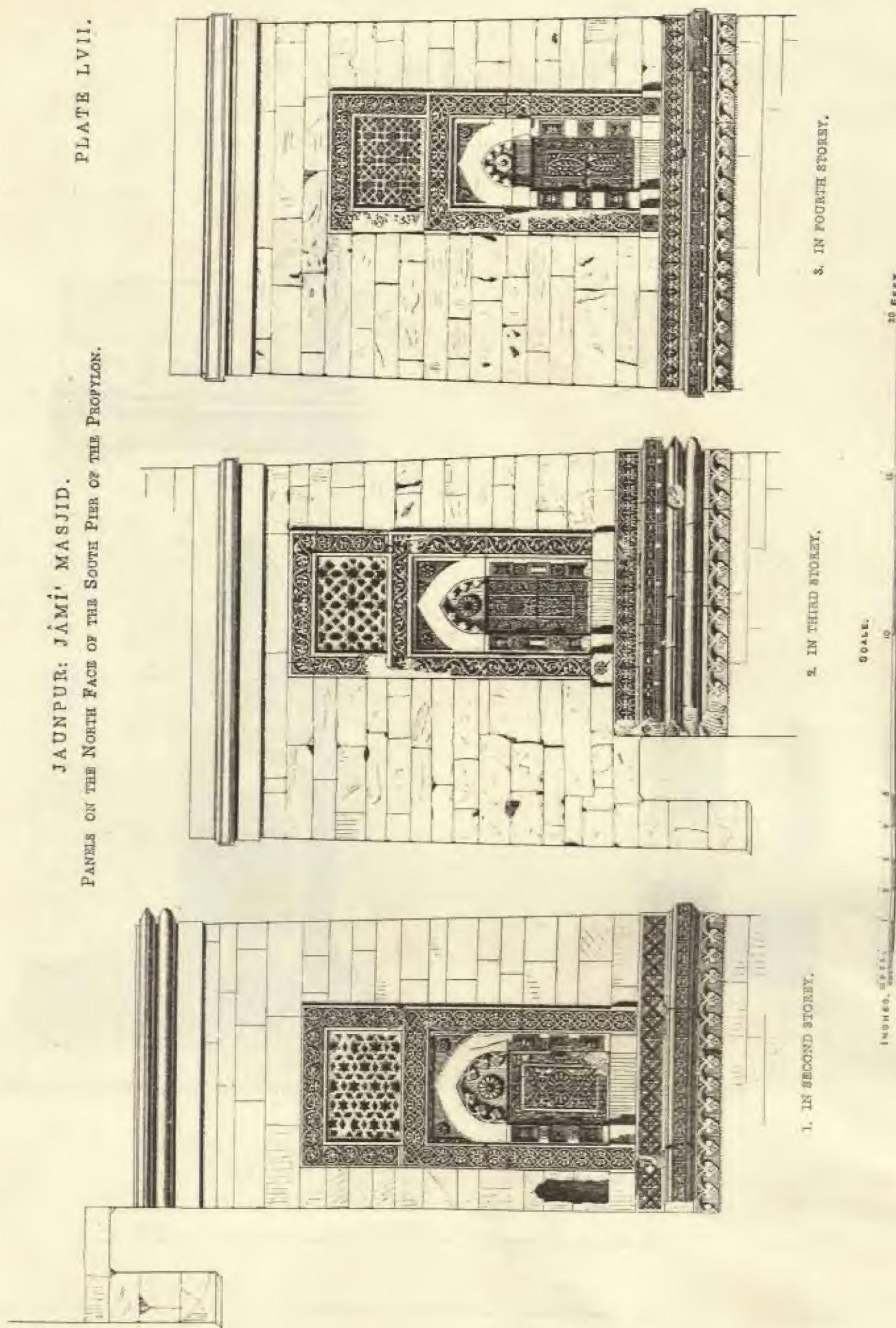
LOWEST PANEL IN SOUTH PIER OF THE PROPYLON.

SCALE.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 FEET.

JĀNPUR: JĀMĪ' MASJID.

PANELS ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE SOUTH PIER OF THE PROPYLON.

PLATE LVII.



3. IN FOURTH STOREY.

2. IN THIRD STOREY.

1. IN SECOND STOREY.

SCALE.

20 FEET.

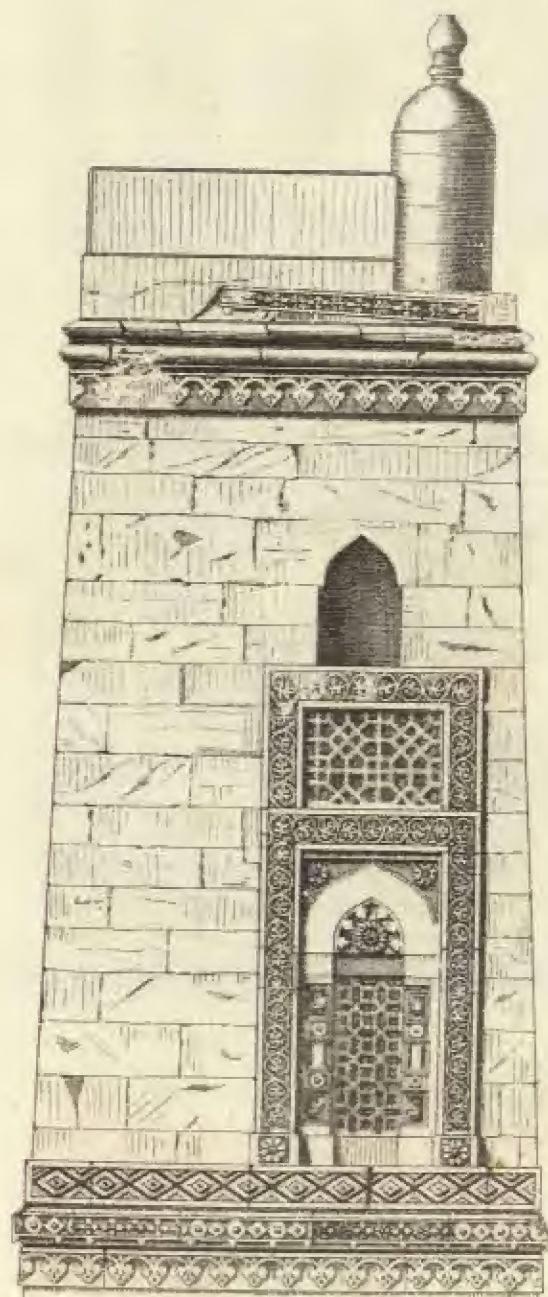
PALLOTTINI, Ad.
EDWARD W. SMITH,
Archaeological Asst.

Photolithograph at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1889.

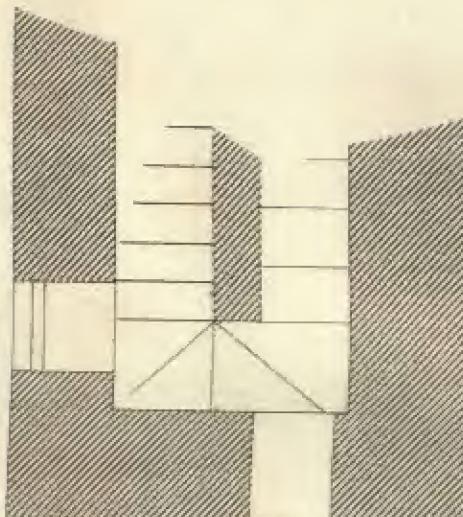
Archaeological Survey of India.

JÂUNPUR: JAMI' MASJID.

PLATE LVIII.



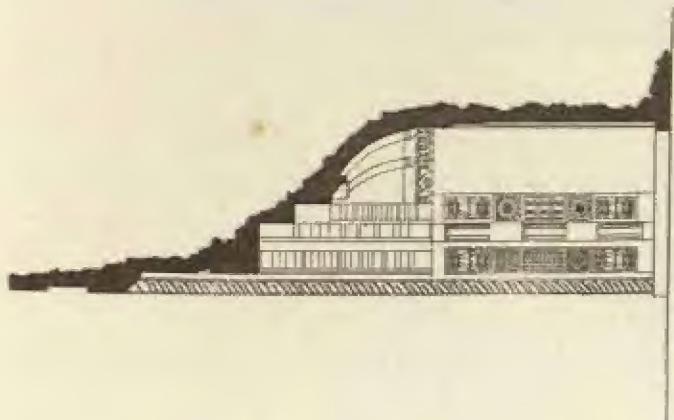
1. TOP STOREY OF SOUTH PIER OF PROPYLON.—NORTH FACE.



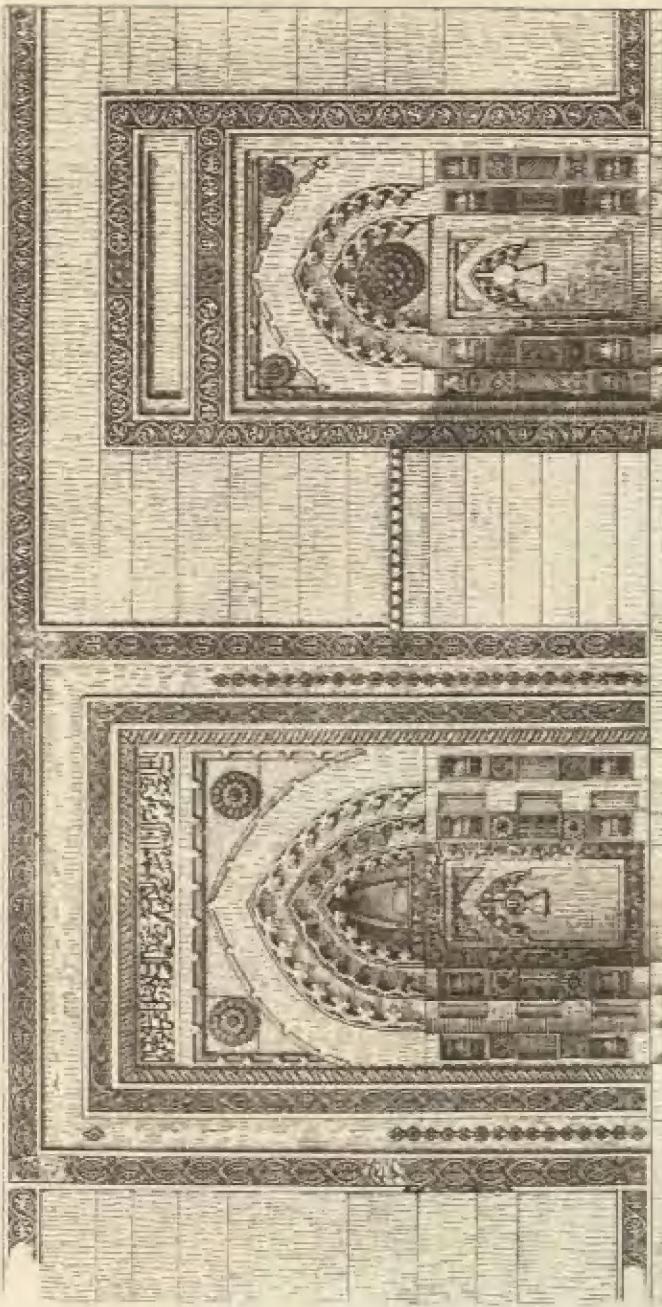
2. PLAN.



JADWIPUR JAMMI MASS JID



2. SECTION



PAGELV



299 MICH. R. E.



20 (11)

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九

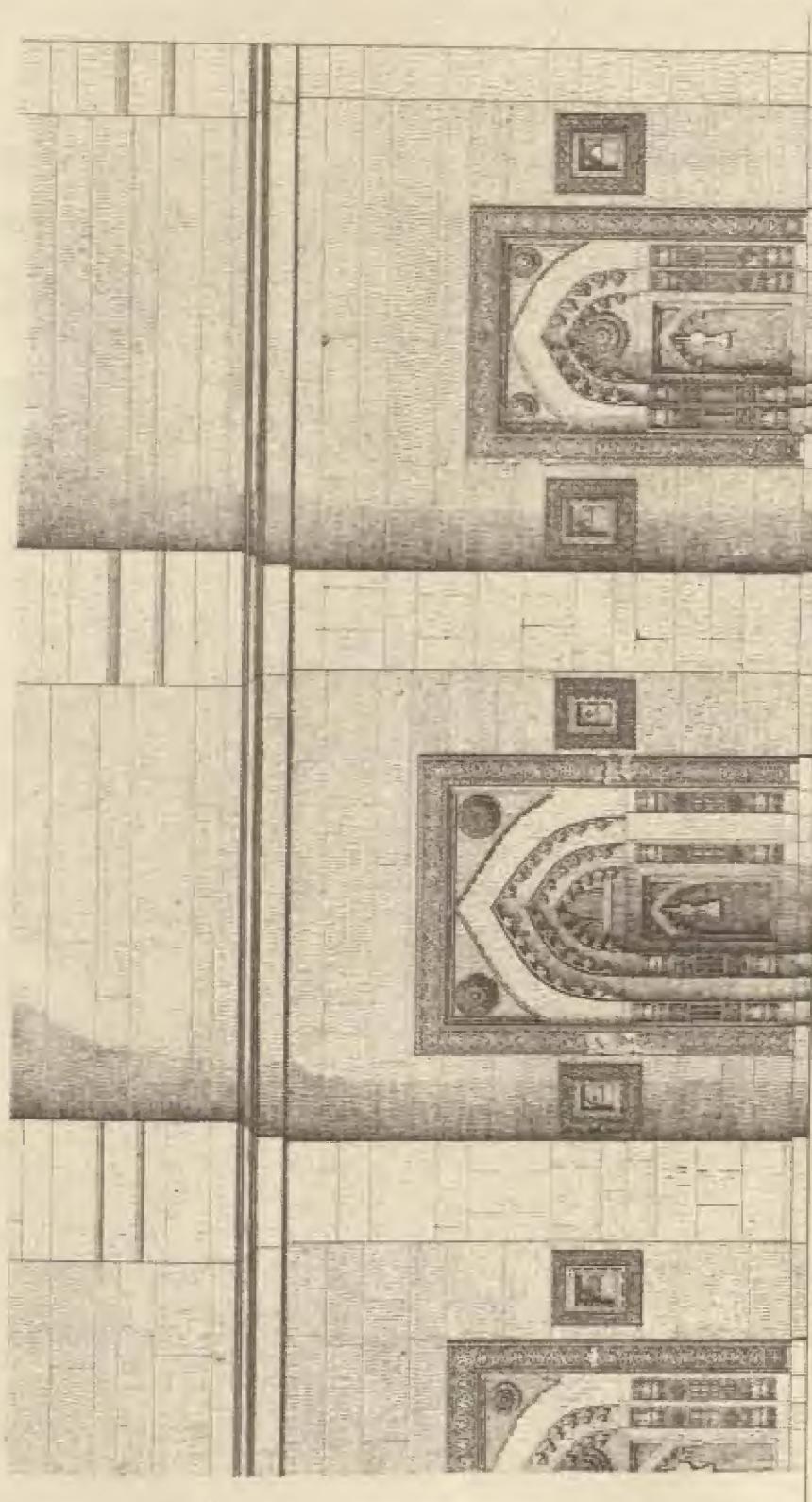
二〇

TURKISH

Bücher und Dokumente 110



J A U N P U R J Á M Í M A S J I D



1. INTERIOR OF THE WEST WALL OF THE SOUTH WING.

2. SECTION.



2. SECTION.

3. PLAN.

PLAN AND SECTION DRAWN BY
J. W. THOMAS, SURVEYOR.

PLATE

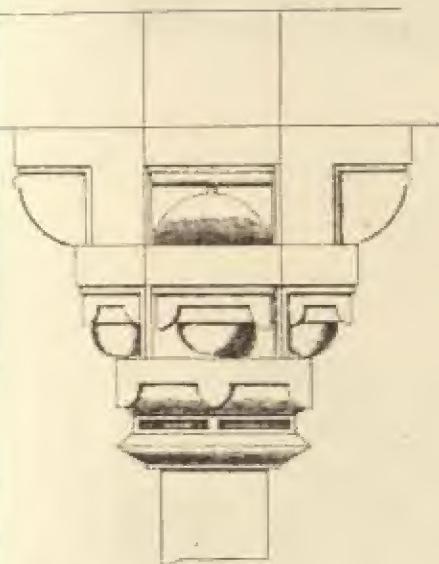
EAST. W. THOMAS.

Survey of India Office Calcutta November 1889

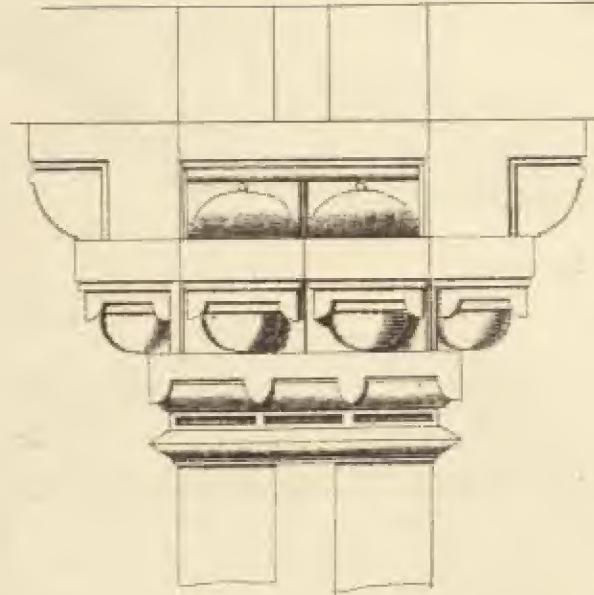


PLATE LXII.

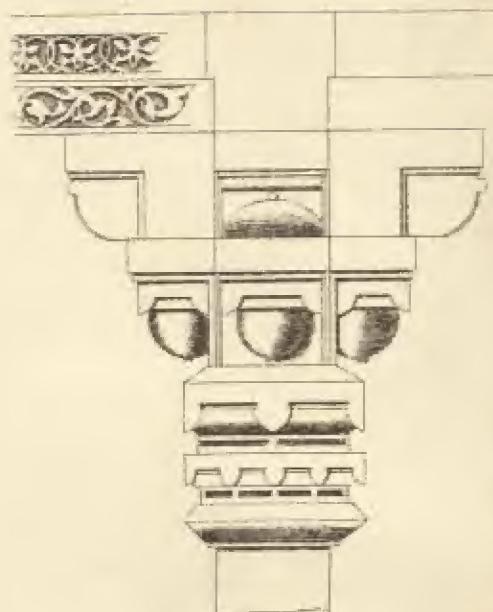
JAUNPUR: JÂMÎ' MASJID.



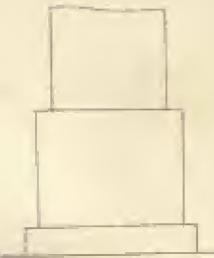
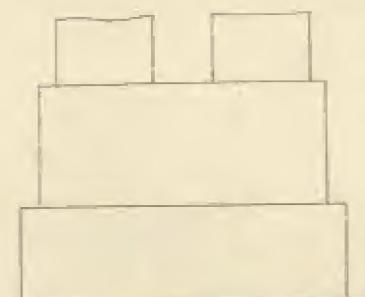
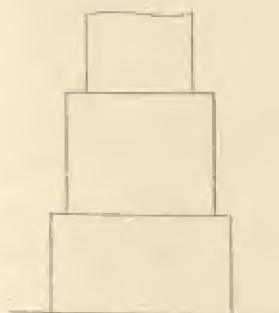
1. FRONT.



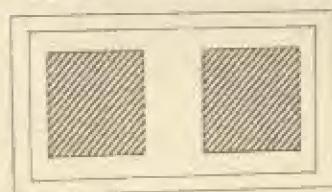
2. SIDE ELEVATION.



3. PILLARS IN BANANA.



DETAILS OF PILLARS.



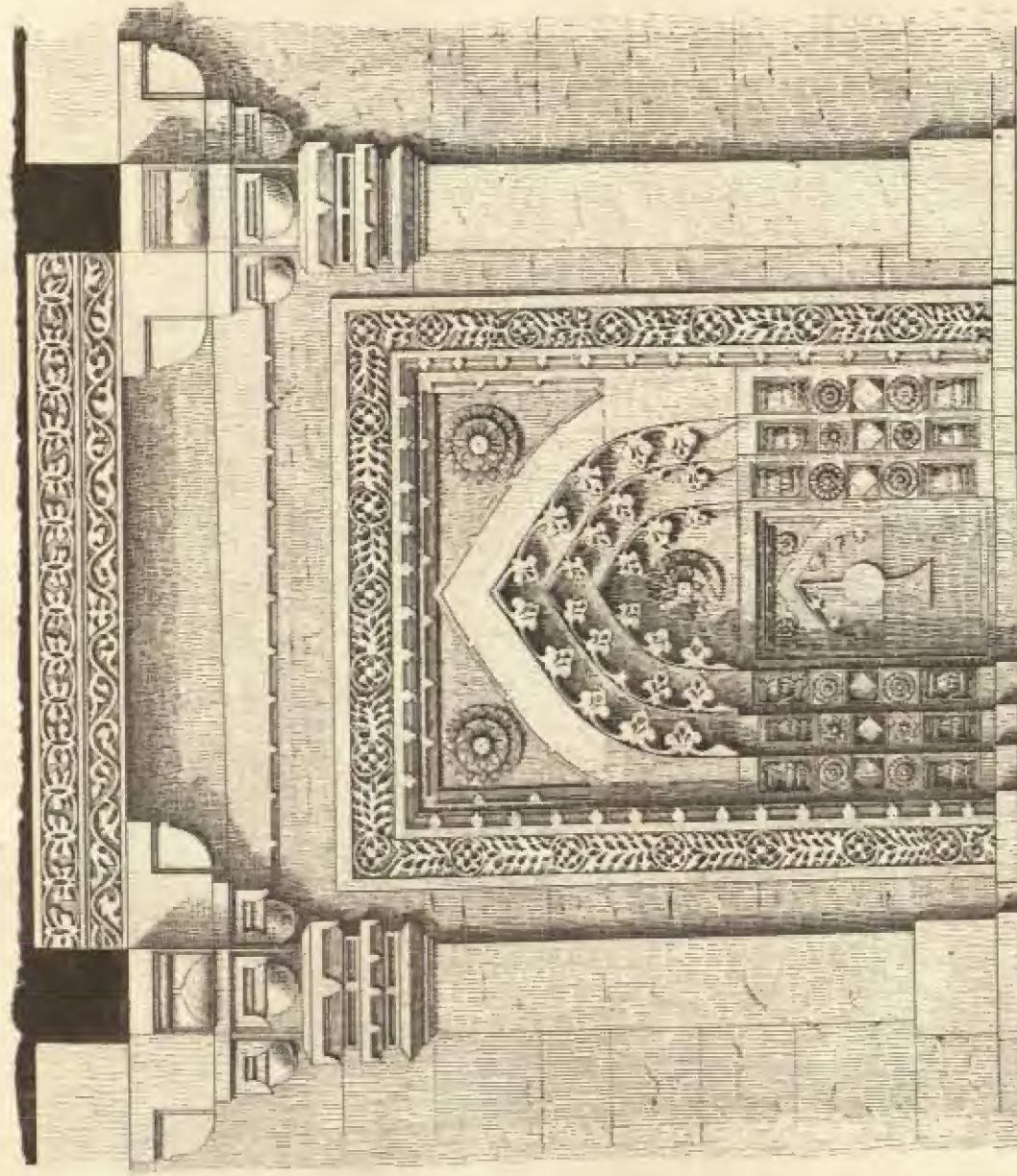
INCHES. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
FEET.

SCALE

Photolithographed at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, April 1882

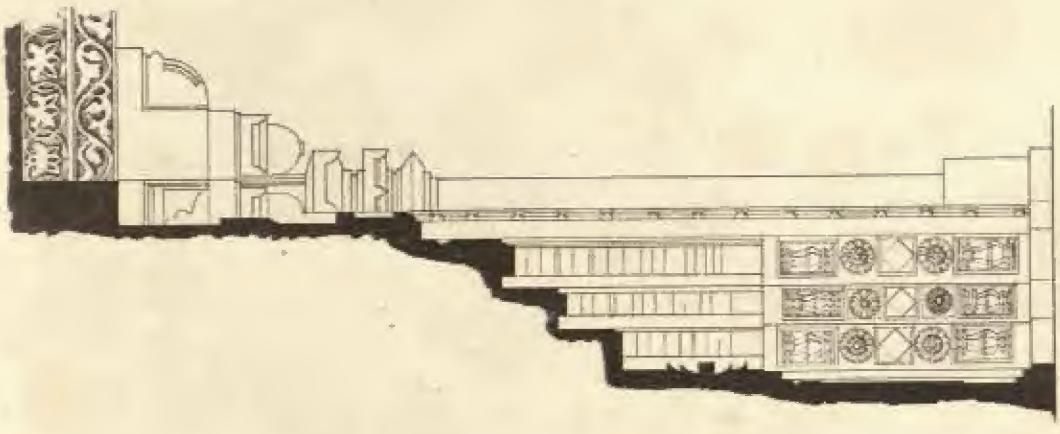
EDWARD W. SMITH,
Asst. Archt. Archaeological Surveyor,
North-West Provinces and Oudh Circle

JADIMPUR JAMI MASJID.



ELEVATION.

2. SECTION.



SECTION.

Architectural Section No. 2.

ft. & in.

Scale.

ft. & in.

Edm. W. Smith.

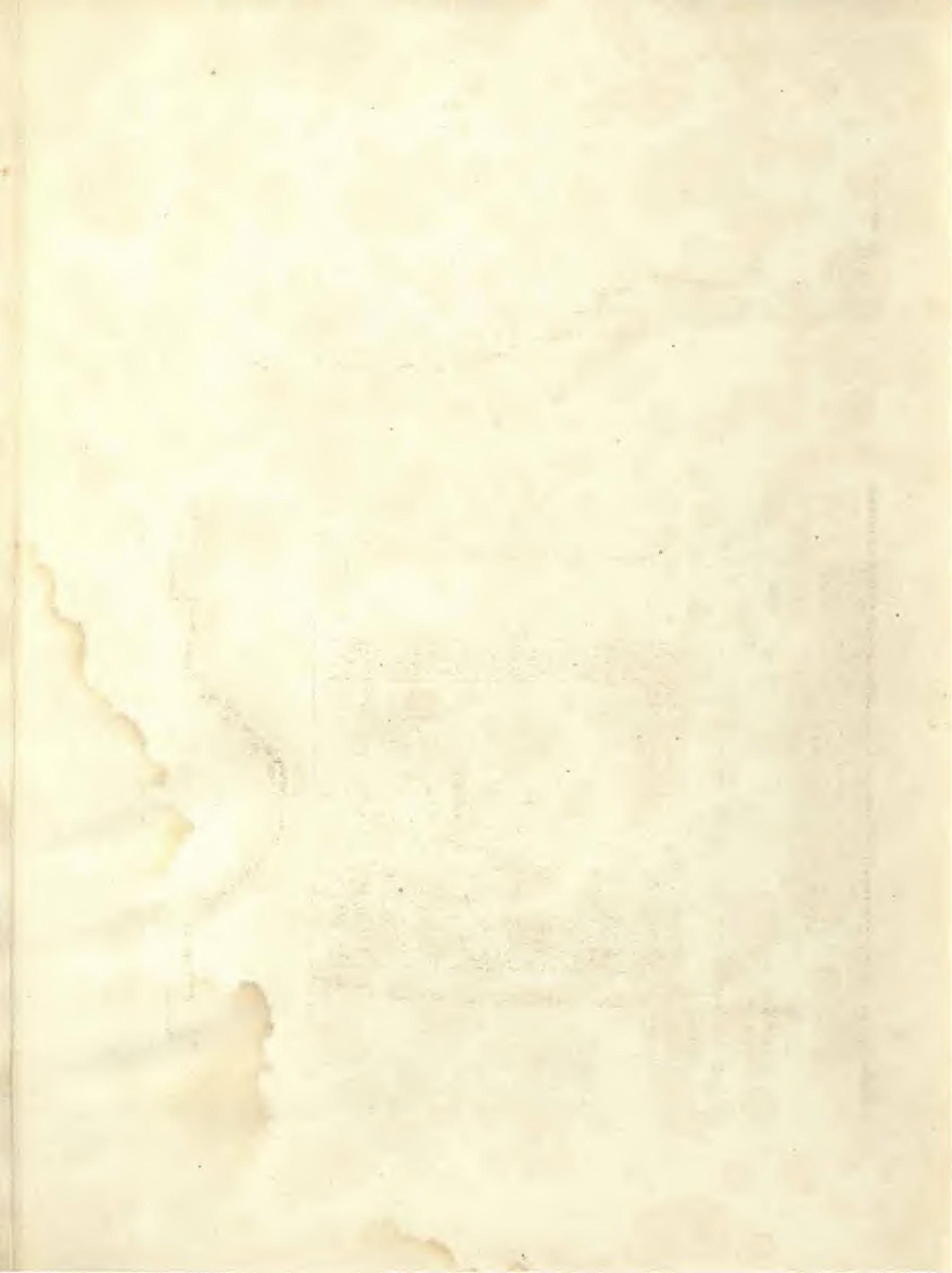


3. PLAN.

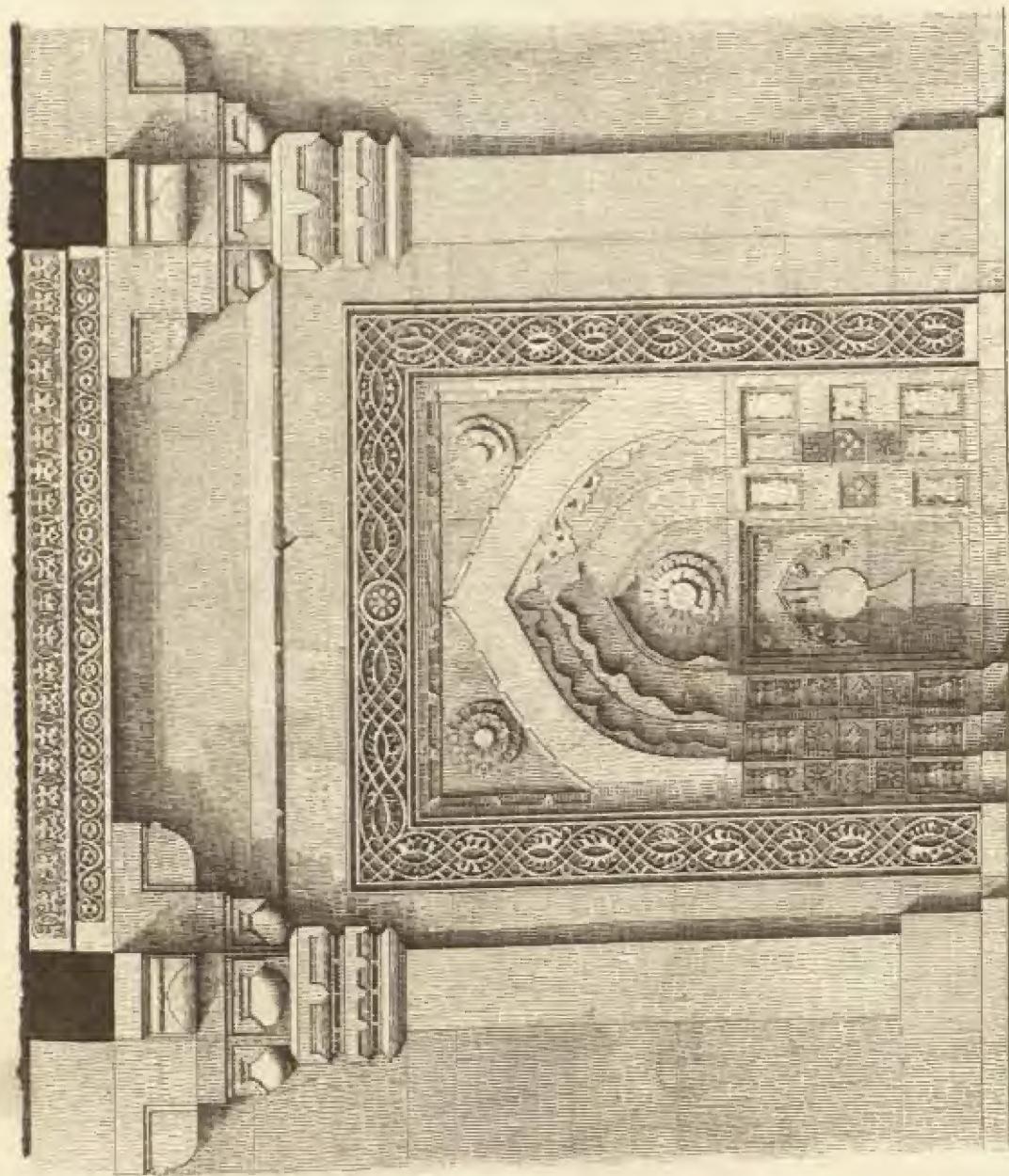
MIR KHAN SULTAN GALLERY.

Survey of India Office, London, 1868.

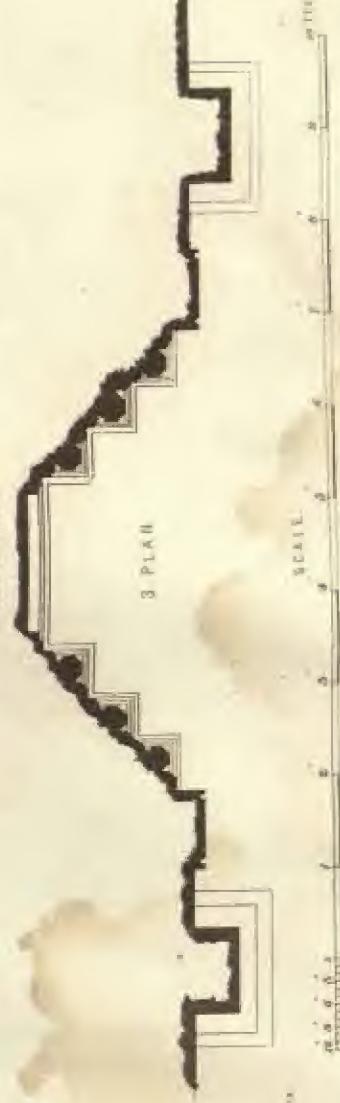
Plan - section.



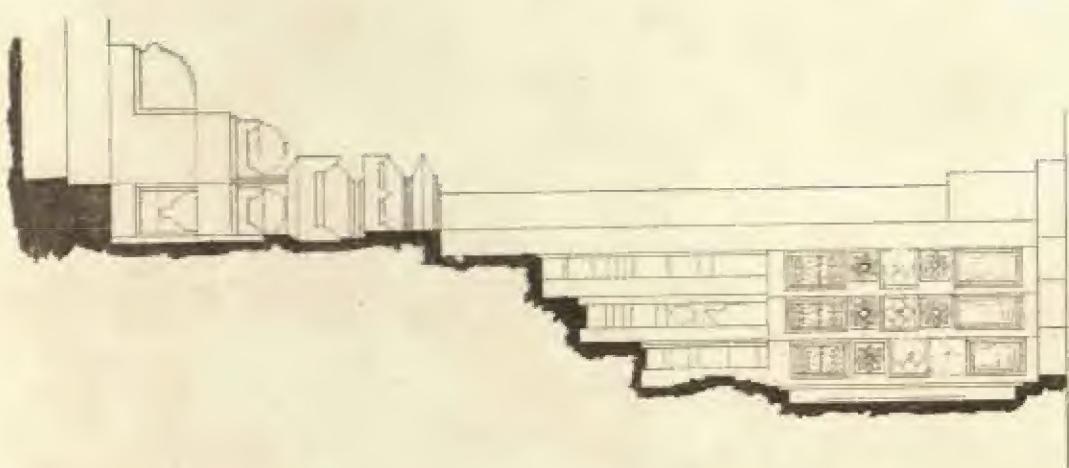
JAHNPUR JĀMI' MASJID



ELEVATION



PLAN



SECTION

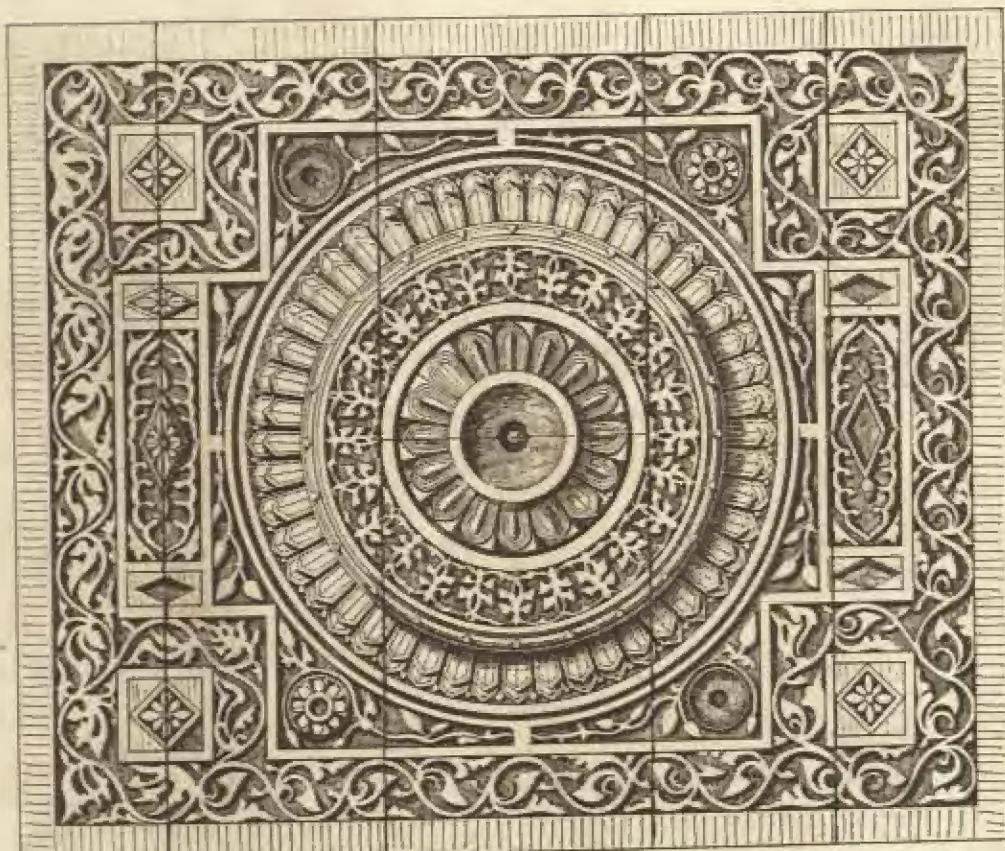
Architectural Drawing, Survey of India

Plato studio

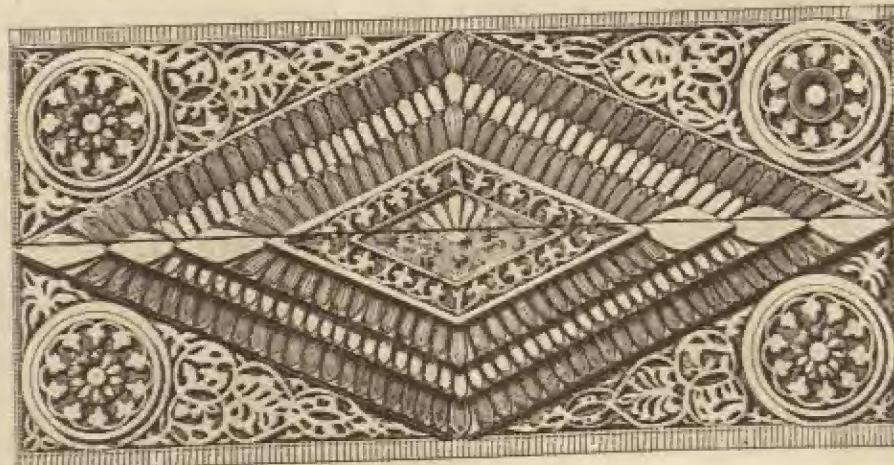
Mughal & North Indian Mosques

Bureau of Archaeological Research, Ministry of Culture

JAUNPUR JAMI' MASJID.



1. PANEL A IN THE ROOF OF THE ZANANA GALLERY



ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

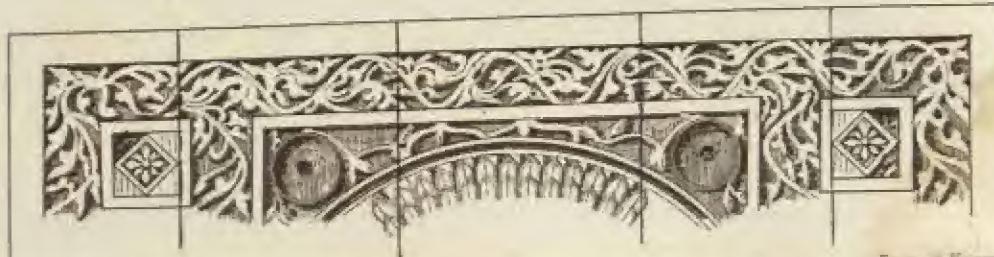
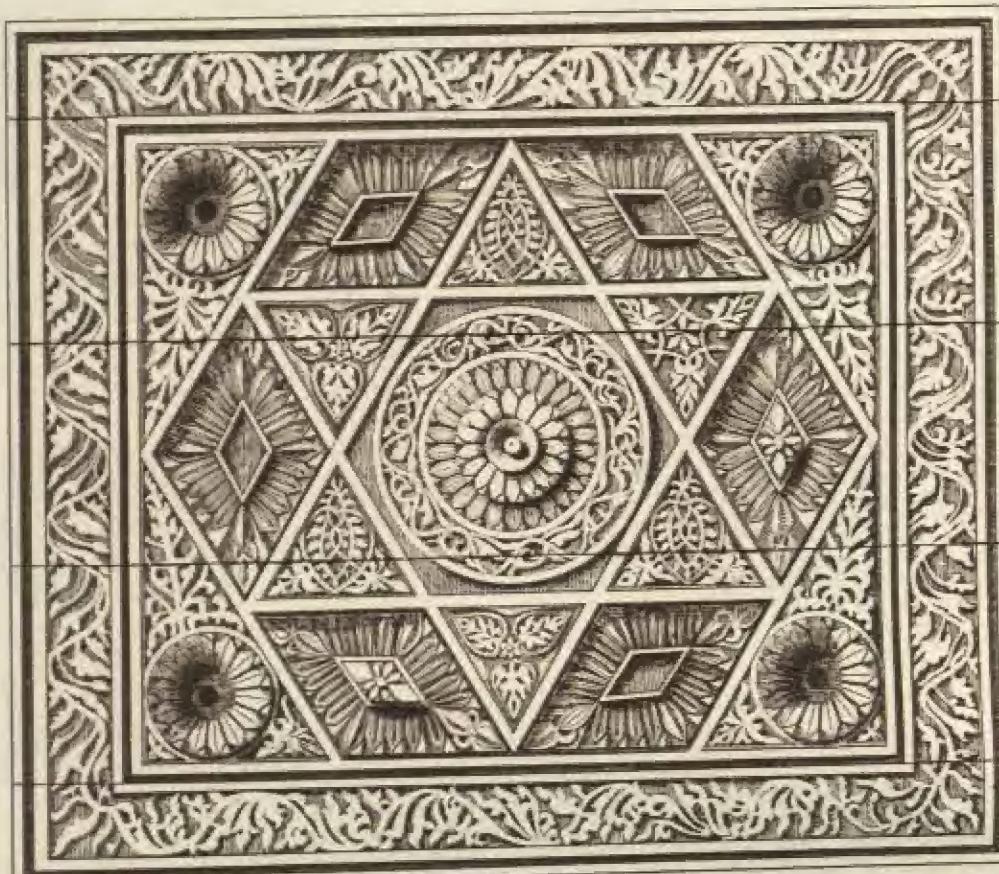
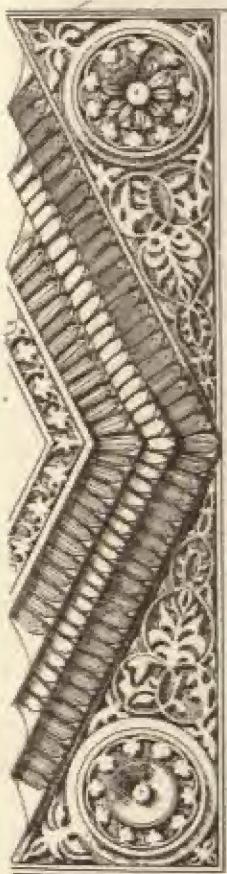
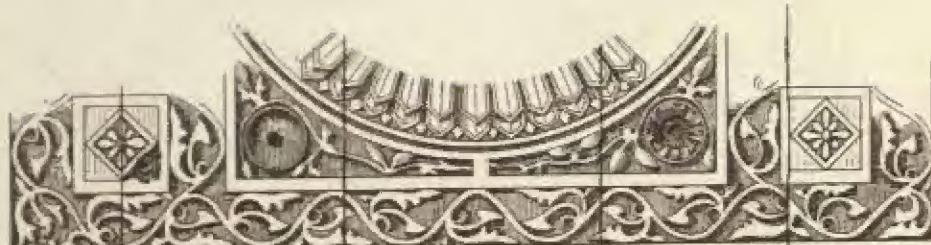
Photo-studio



Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1882

2. PANEL B IN THE ROOF OF THE ZANANA GALLERY

JAUNPUR-JĀMĪ MASJID



Bapuji Kunder Rec. Del.

SCALE

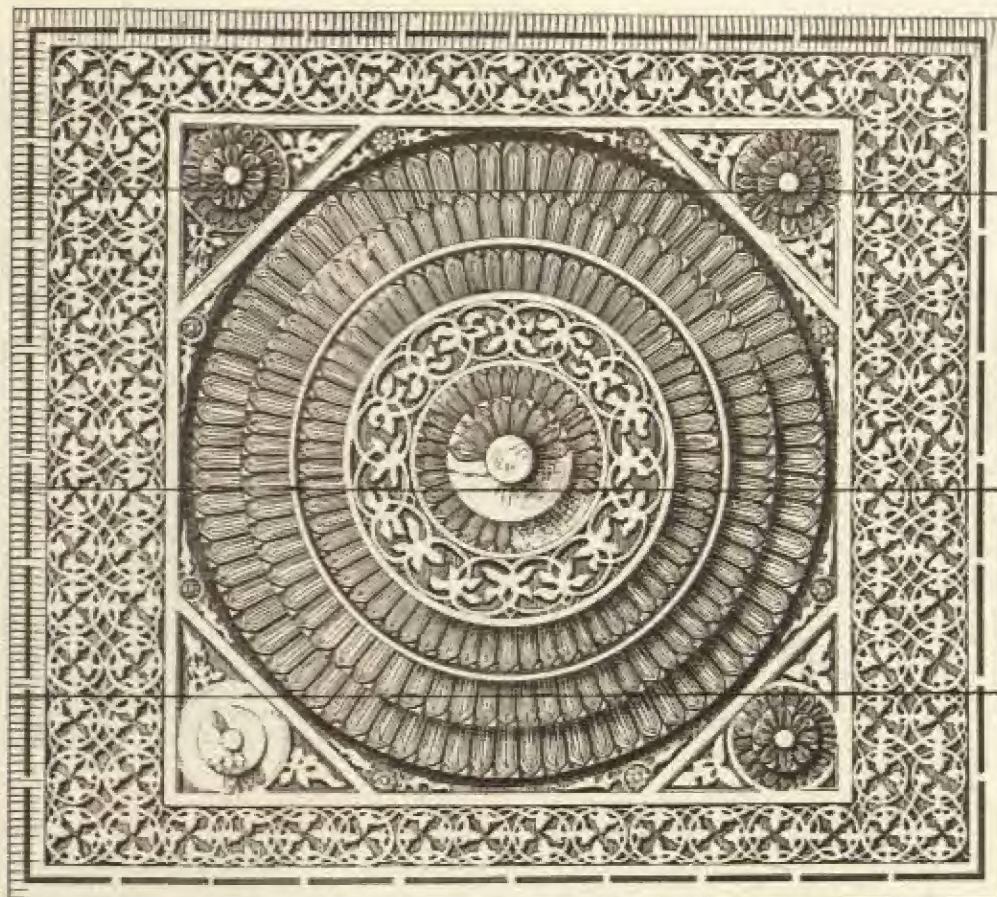
0 FEET

PANEL C IN THE ROOF OF THE SOUTH ZANĀNA GALLERY

Survey of India Office, Calcutta, November 1888

JAUNPUR JĀMI' MASJID

PLATE LXVII



I. CEILING PANEL I IN NORTH ZANĀNA GALLERY

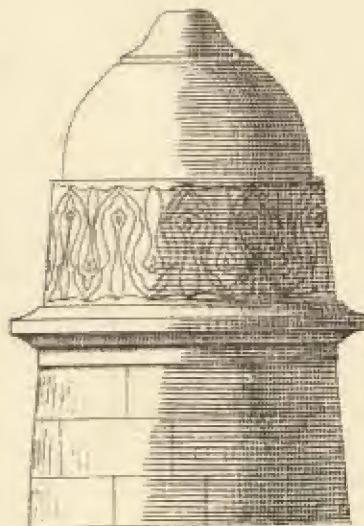
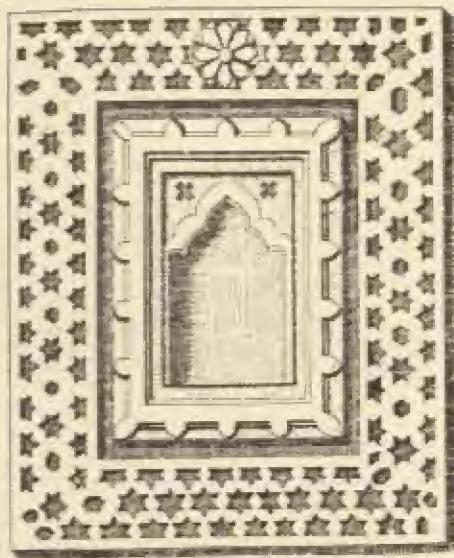


2. CEILING-PANEL II IN NORTH ZANĀNA GALLERY.

SCALE.—
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET.

PLATE LXVIII.

JAUNPUR: JĀMĪ' MASJID.

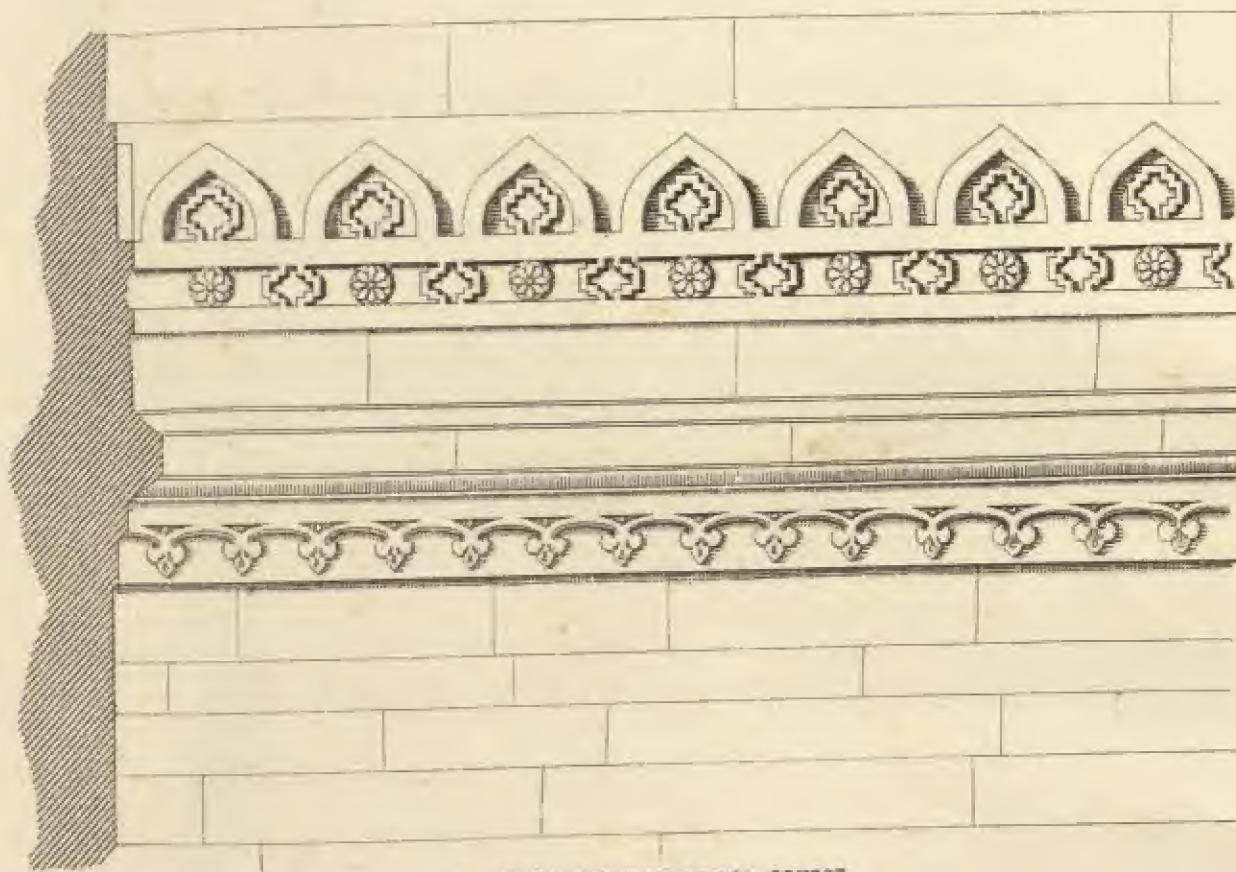


3. TOP OF THE TURRETS.

SCALE TO FIGS. 1 & 2
INCHES 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 FEET

1. PANEL ON N. SIDE OF CENTRAL MIHRAB
IN SOUTH WING.

2. PANEL ON N. SIDE OF CENTRAL MIHRAB
IN THE NORTH WING.



4. DETAIL OF UPPER STRING-COURSE.

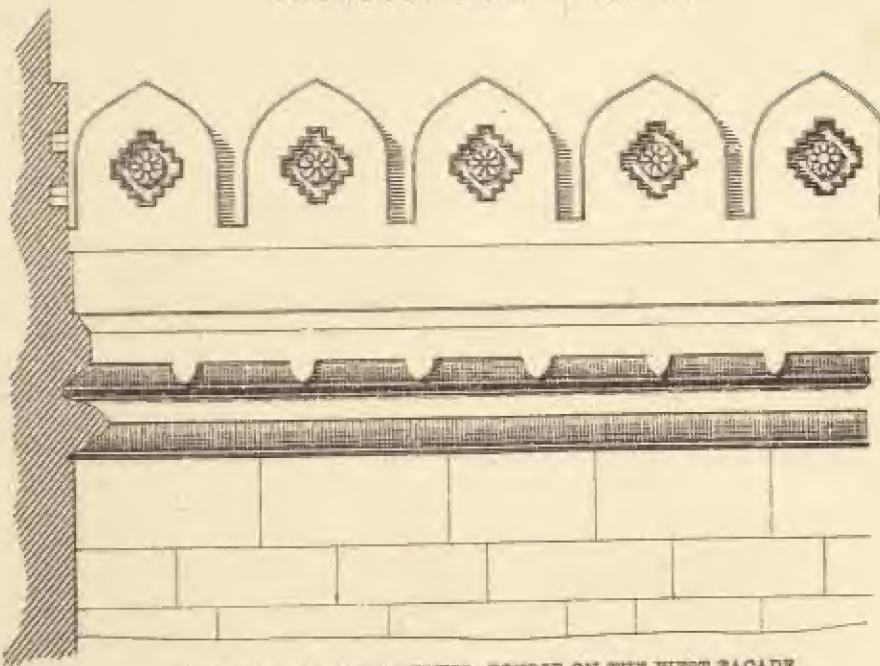
SCALE TO FIGS. 3 & 4
INCHES 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 60 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 70 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 80 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 FEET

Photo lithographed at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, May 1884.

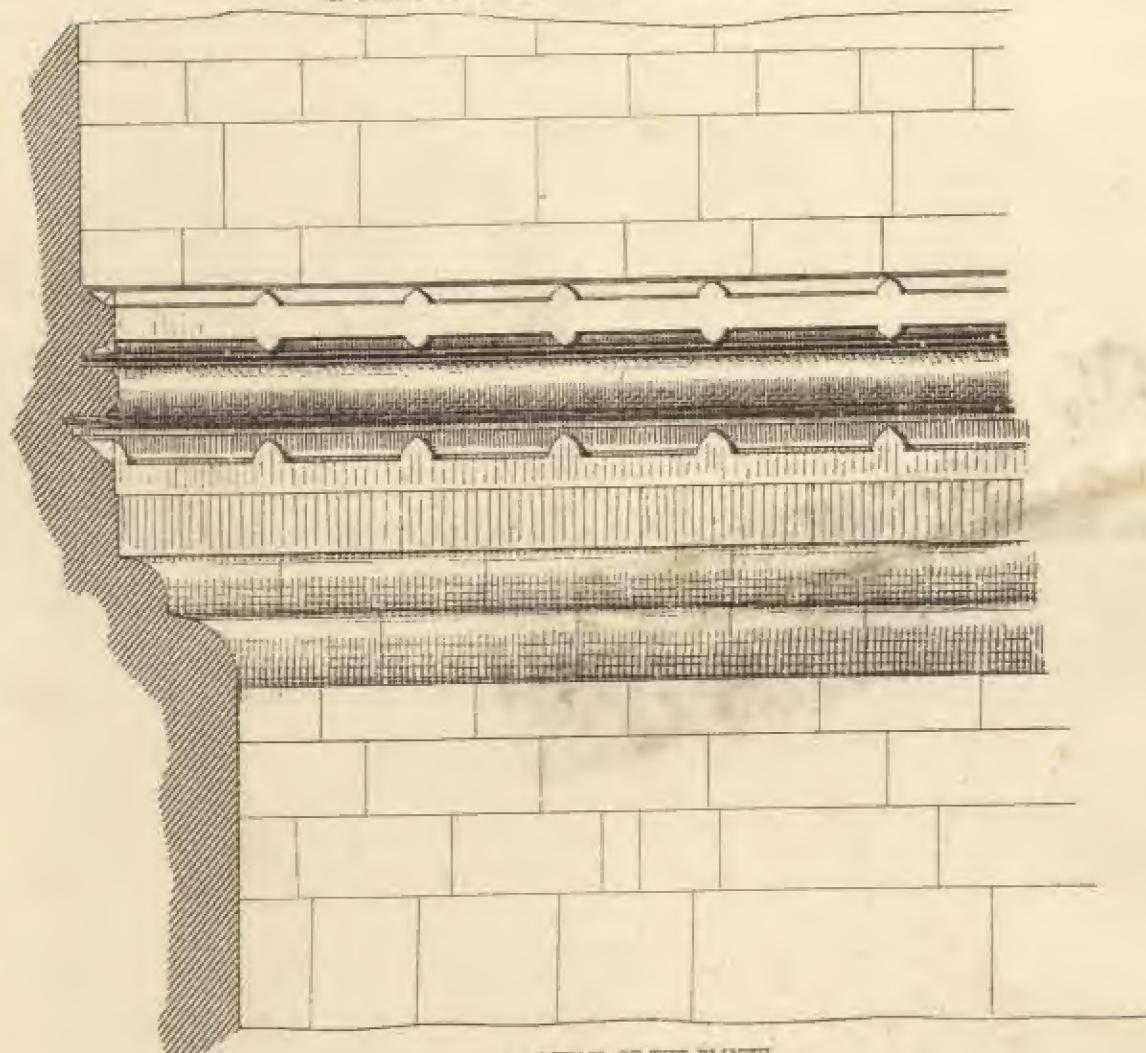
Archaeological Survey of India.

EDWARD W. SMITH,
Architectural Ant.

JAUNPUR: JĀMĪ' MASJID.



1. DETAIL OF LOWER STRING-COURSE ON THE WEST FAÇADE.



2. DETAIL OF THE PLINTH.



Photo-Lithographed at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, May 1890.

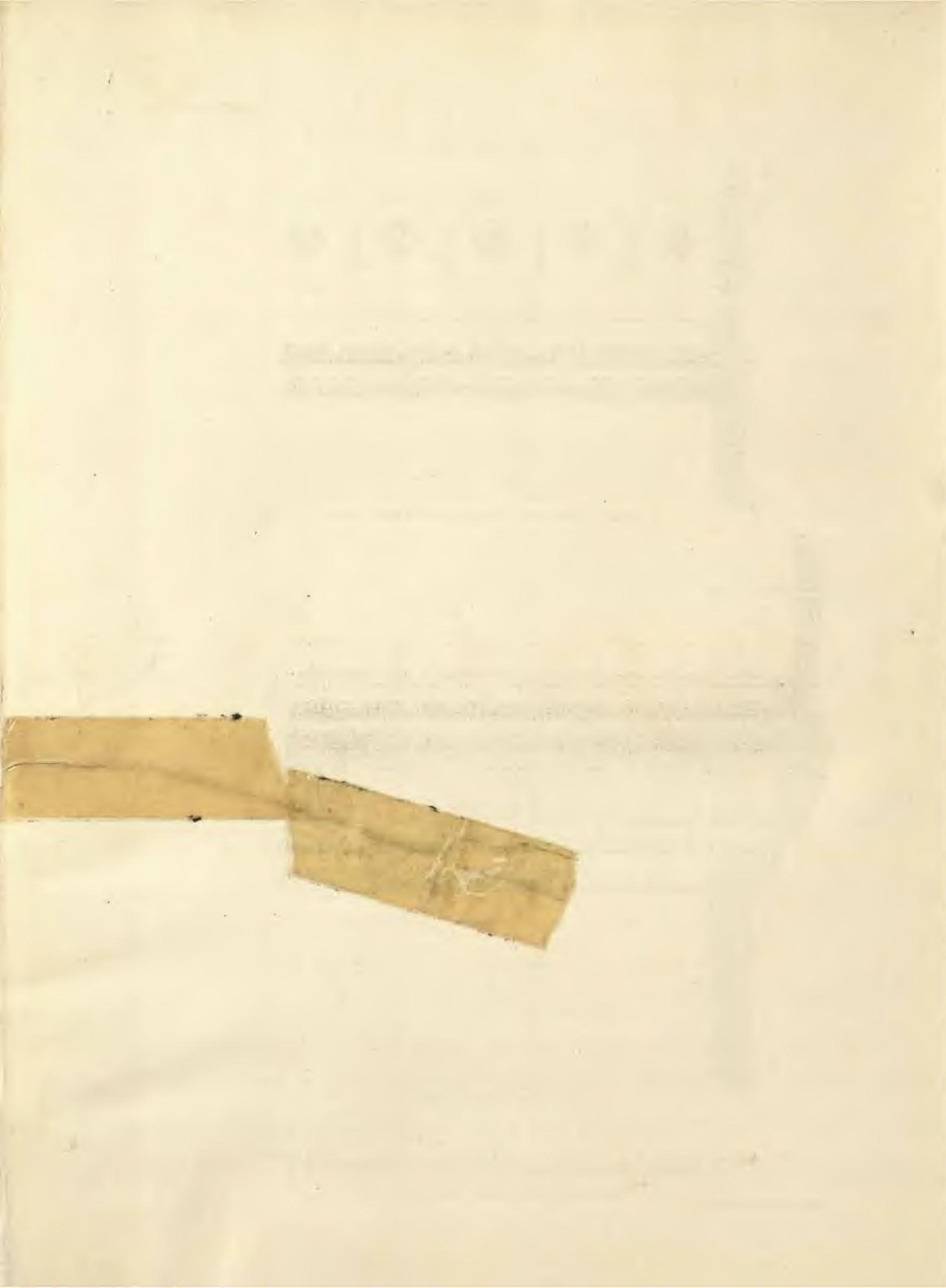
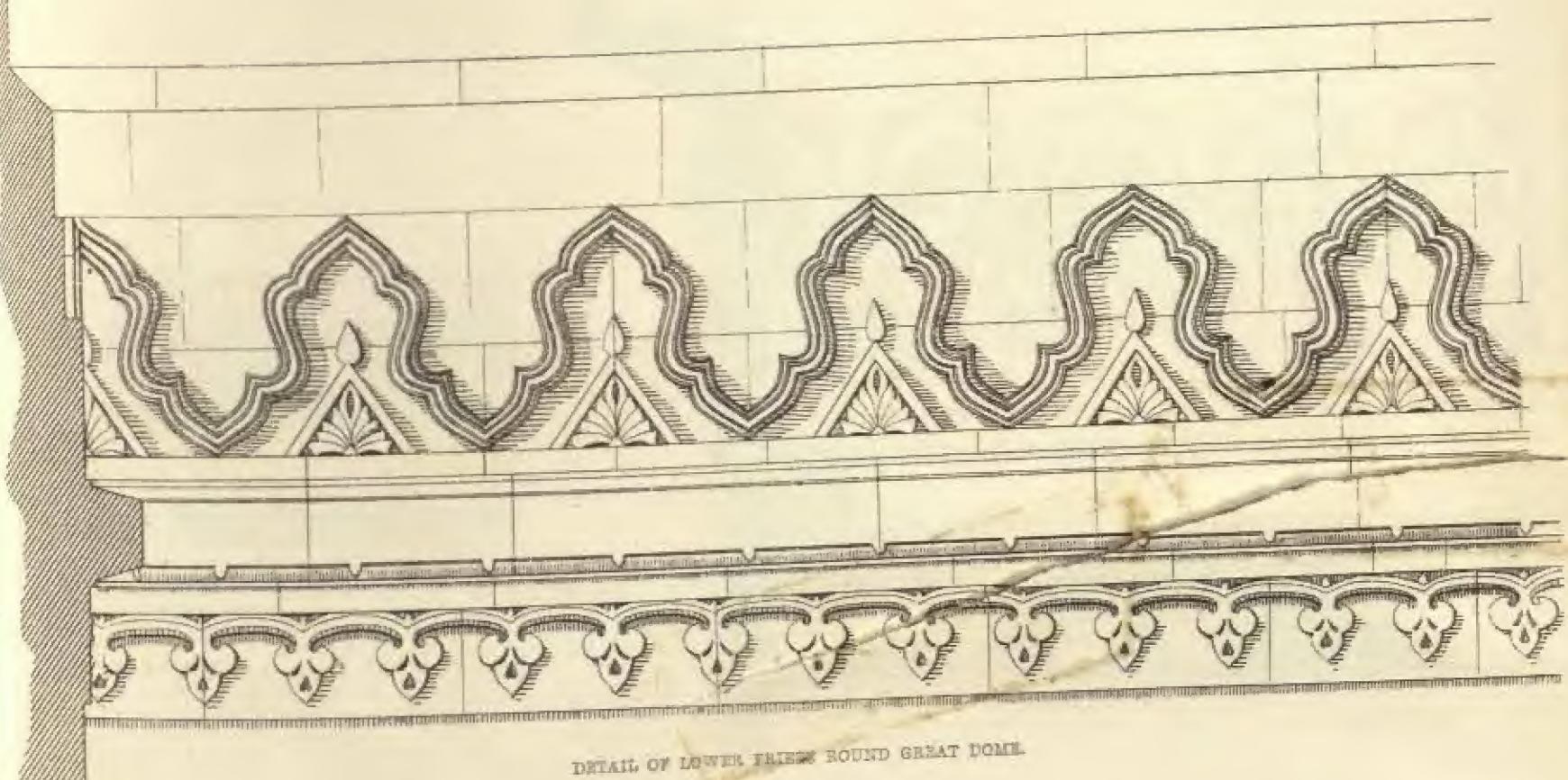


PLATE LXX.

JAUNPUR: JĀMI' MASJID.



DETAIL OF LOWER FRIEZE ROUND GREAT DOME.

SCALE

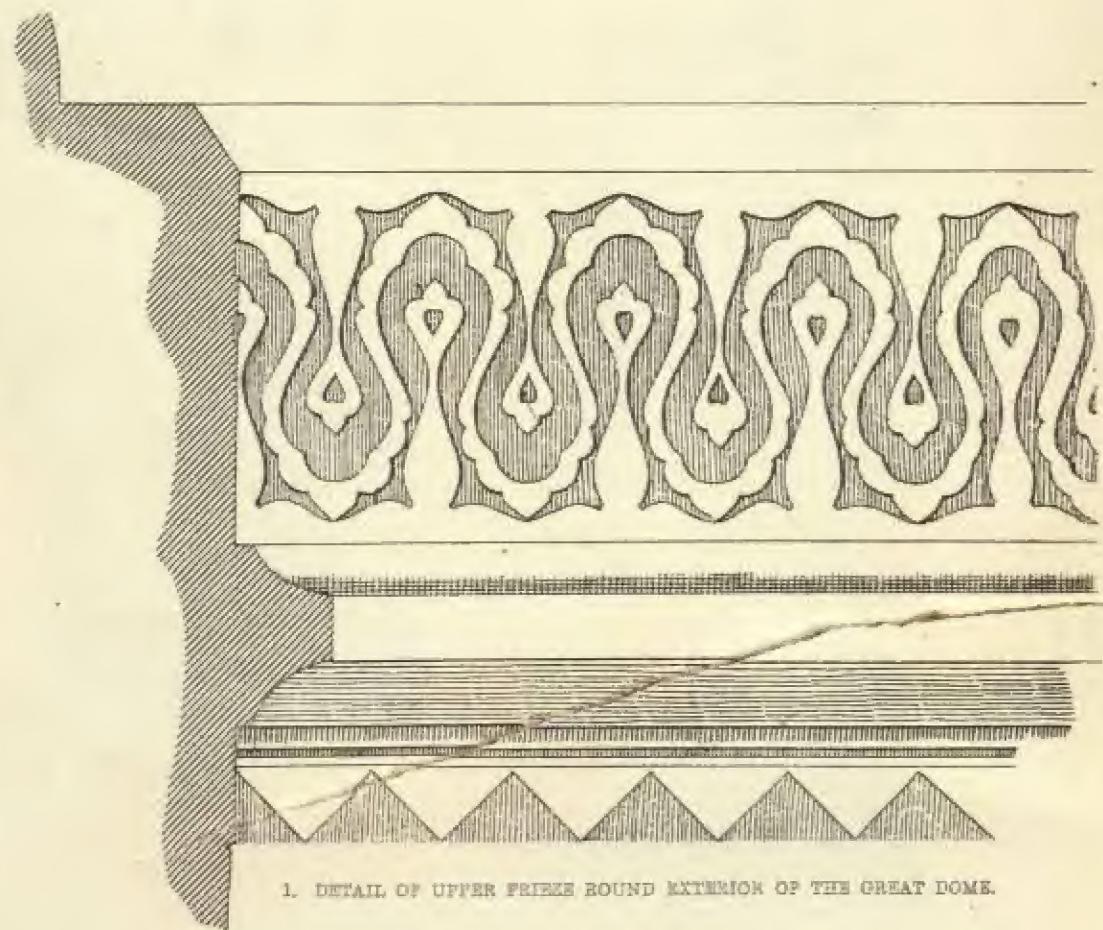


FEET.



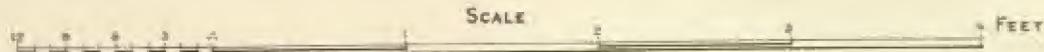
JAUNPUR: JAMI' MASJID.

PLATE LXXI.



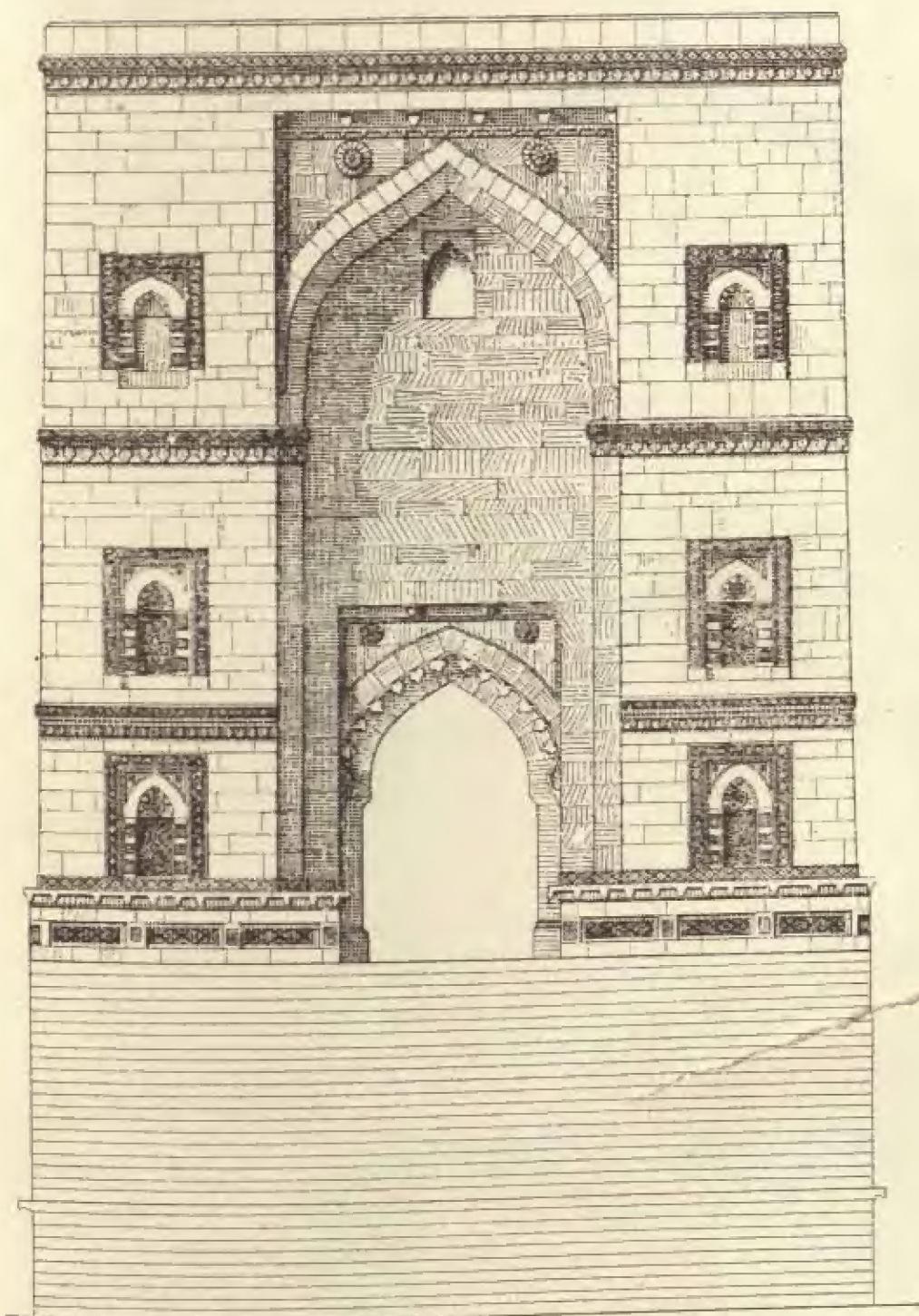
2. DETAIL OF FRIEZE ROUND THE KIOSKS
AT THE ANGLES OF THE GREAT DOME.

1. DETAIL OF UPPER FRIEZE ROUND EXTENSION OF THE GREAT DOME.

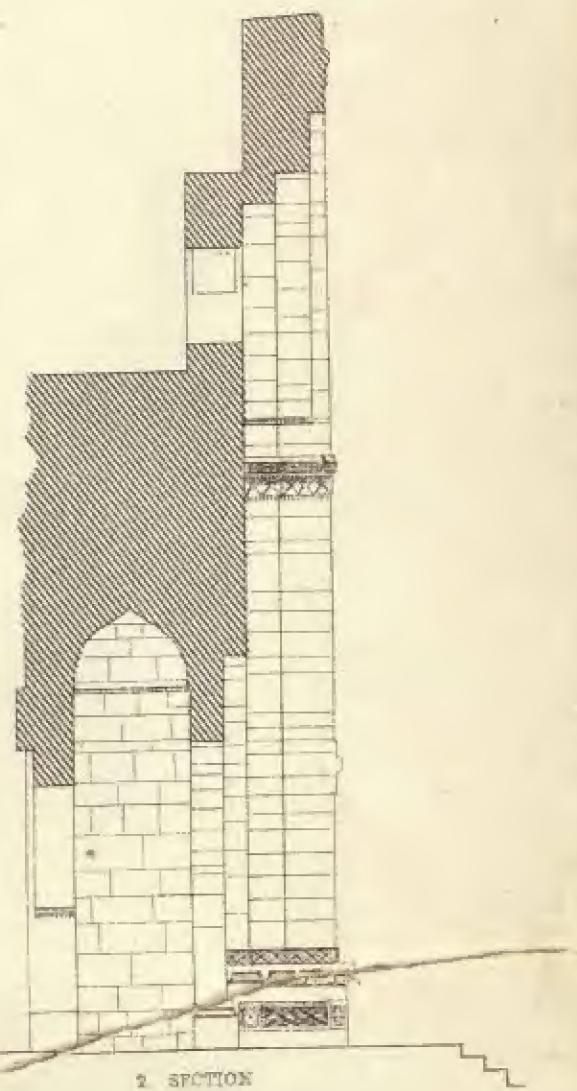


JAUNPUR: JÂMI' MASJID.

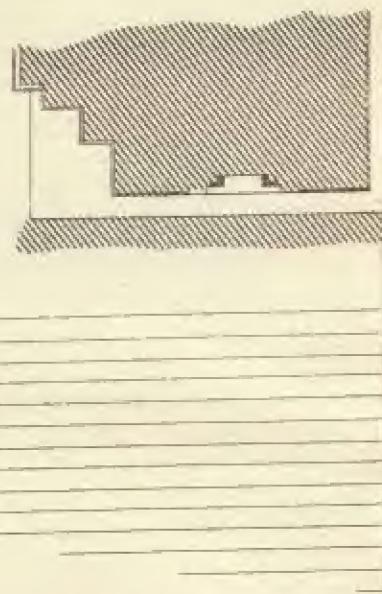
PLATE LXXII.



1. SOUTH ENTRANCE GATEWAY.



2. SECTION



3. HALF PLAN.

SCALE
FEET 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

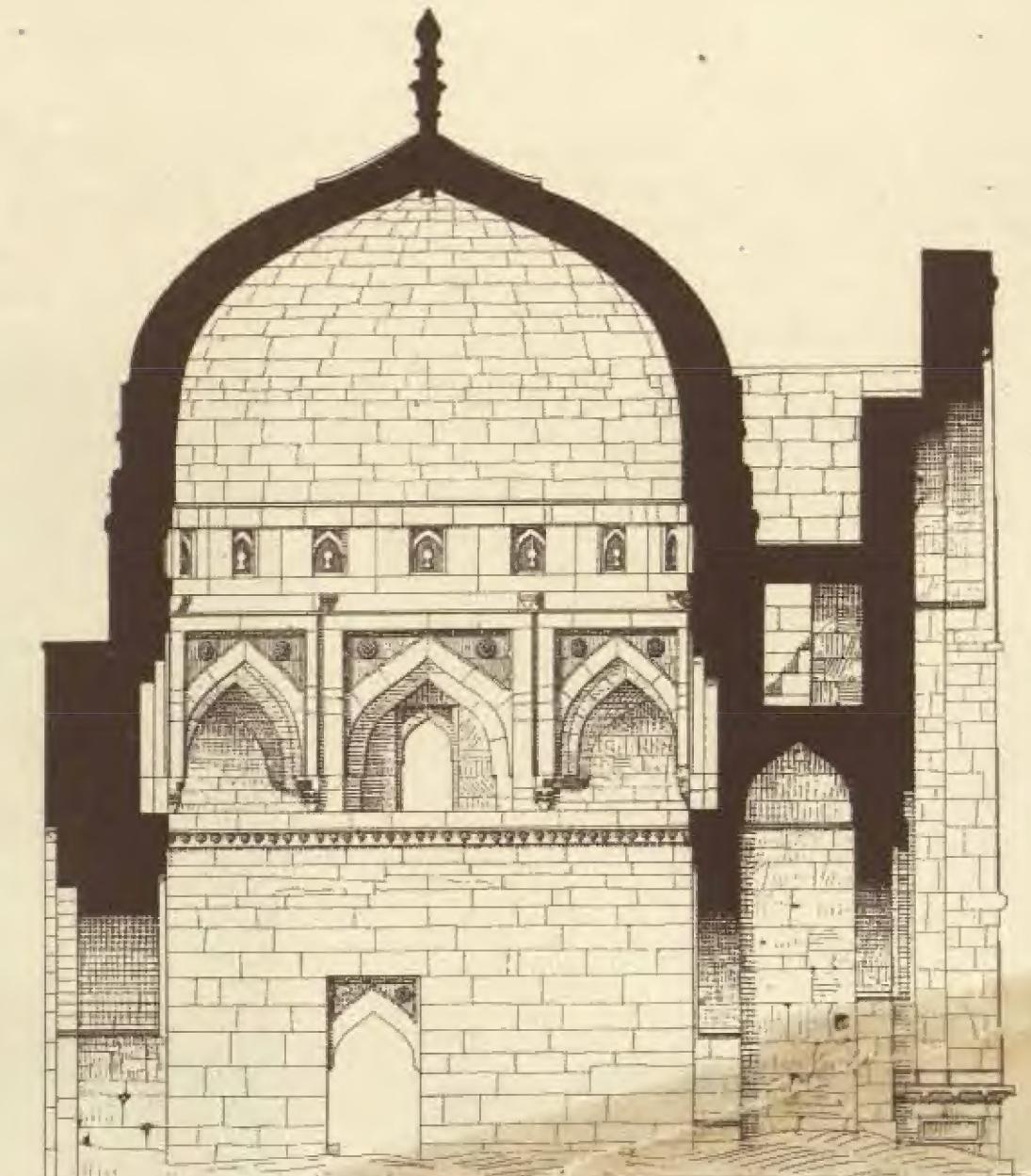
SCALE
20 30 40 FEET.

Photo-lithographed at the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, February 1891.

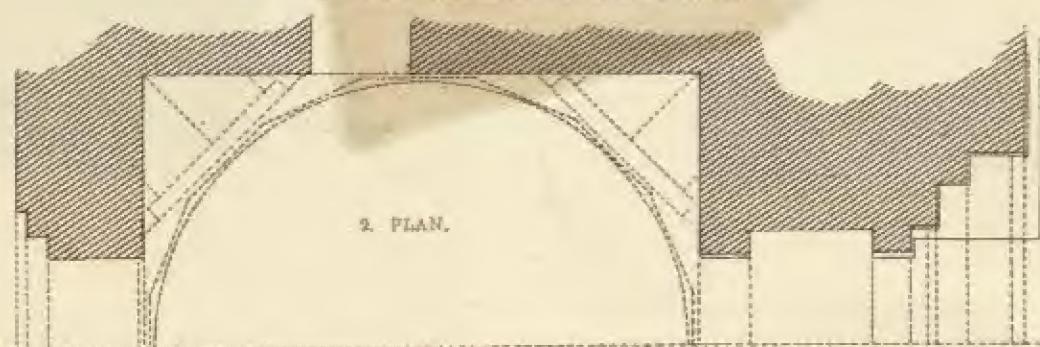


JAUNPUR: JAMI' MASJID.

PLATE LXXIII.



1. ELEVATION OF WHITE ENTRANCE GATE.



2. PLAN.





1

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1/11/76

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